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CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE BRITISH ARCHIVES
CONCERNING TEXAS, 1837-1846

EDITED BY EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS

Introduction

British interest in Texas was manifested from the time of her declaration of independence in 1836, and Texan diplomats were early in communication with the British government. It was not until 1840, however, that the Texan appeal for recognition met with active official approval in England, and the first steps were taken toward a conclusion of treaties. Thus very little correspondence from Texas is to be found in the British archives previous to that year. The present publication, which will run through several numbers of *THE QUARTERLY*, consists mainly of letters and reports to the British government, hitherto unpublished, written by the two principal British officials stationed in Texas. These were Charles Elliot, chargé d'affaires, and William Kennedy, consul at Galveston. Further biographical detail is given in footnotes where these men appear in the correspondence. Elliot did not arrive in Texas until the fall of 1842, while Kennedy, though in Texas in 1839-1840, and again in 1842, did not assume his duties as consul until 1843. But as the purpose of *THE QUARTERLY* is to present British evidence as to political, social, and industrial conditions in Texas, as well as of the activities of British agents, various letters from other officials are included in this first installment. On the other hand in the later years of the Republic, instructions to Elliot and Kennedy have been omitted in most cases. Their substance will be stated in footnotes whenever the connection requires it.

The bulk of the manuscript material in the Public Record Office, treating of Texas,—from which these documents are exclusively drawn—is in the form of bound manuscript volumes, some twenty-five in number, containing the instructions of the Foreign Office to British agents in Texas and the reports of these agents. A few of the volumes comprise the records of Elliot's office while in Texas, which were transferred to London when Texas ceased to be a

republic. The archives of Elliot's legation, thus transferred, contain, in addition to the usual material that one would expect to find there, copies of a great deal of the correspondence between Aberdeen, the British Foreign Secretary, and British diplomats in the United States, France, and Mexico. Copies of all important instructions to these countries, treating of Texan affairs, were sent to Elliot for his information. In general, all the Texas material is in very usable shape, being arranged by volumes in chronological order.

The material here presented has been transcribed by a copyist, Mr. W. H. Powell, employed by *THE QUARTERLY*, and is printed exactly as copied. Final comparison of proof with the manuscripts in the Record Office has not been feasible, but it is believed that the matter as now printed is in the main correct, though in the case of Elliot's letters there is always a chance of error because of his atrocious handwriting. Here, however, Mr. Powell's copy has been checked with that of the editor, who had previously himself made transcripts of the letters. The spelling and punctuation of the original have been followed, and usually without calling attention to errors, where the meaning is clear. The chronological order has been used, save in the case of enclosures, which are marked as such and follow the letters in which they were enclosed. It is not intended to print in *THE QUARTERLY* documents that have elsewhere appeared in print, in generally accessible form, but no minute search of printed materials has seemed necessary, save in the three volumes of "Texan Diplomatic Correspondence" edited by the late Professor Garrison. The few documents of this collection there printed or calendared, are here omitted, with notations as to where they may be found.

CRAWFORD TO BIDWELL¹

No. 1.

British Consulate
Tampico. 9th February 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, that having received In-

¹F. O., Mexico, vol. 110.

structions from His Majesty's Consul General in Mexico in consequence of Lord Viscount Palmerston's letter to Mr. Pakenham, of the 27th. of August last, I shall within a few days proceed to Matamoros and the Mexican Territory to the Northward, and shall use my utmost exertions and zeal in the objects of my journey, communicating thro' His Majesty's Minister in Mexico the result of my observations from time to time as opportunities offer.

I beg leave to acquaint you that this Vice Consulate during my absence will be under the charge of Stewart L. Jolly, Esqr. a most respectable British Merchant in this City, which nomination has met the approval of Mr. Pakenham and the Consul General in a Confidential communication which I made to Mr. O'Gorman to that effect, and when Officially made, I hope will be approved by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.

With great respect, I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Jos. T. Crawford,

Vice Consul.

To John Bidwell, Esqr. etc. etc. etc.

Foreign Office London

[Endorsed as received April 17, and answered.]

CRAWFORD TO BIDWELL¹

No. 2.

British Consulate

Tampico, 24 March 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour of acquainting you that I embark this day on Board His Majesty's Sloop Racer for Matamoros and the Northern ports of this Republick, and that Mr. Stewart L. Jolly remains acting V. Consul during my absence, to whom I this morning handed over the Archives, and had previously received the approbation of His Majesty's Minister and the Consul General to this

¹F. O., Mexico, vol. 110.

nomination which has been notified to this Government and by me to the Local Authorities.

With great respect I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Jos. T. Crawford,

Vice Consul.

To John Bidwell, Esqr. etc. etc. etc.

Foreign Office. London.

[Endorsed as received June 14th.]

CRAWFORD TO BACKHOUSE¹

No. 1.

New Orleans.

5th. June 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith for the information of His Majesty's Government Copies of my dispatches from Houston, Texas dated the 13th. Ultimo, addressed to the Consul General at Mexico, and of the 26th. from this place to Mr. Pakenham, relative to the present state of Texas, accompanied with a large pile of papers for reference as to the Constitution and Laws of that province which I request you will be pleased to lay before Lord Viscount Palmerston.

Having concluded my visit to the Northern ports, I am to Sail this day for Tampico where on arrival I shall resume the exercise of my Consular duties.

With Great respect I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Jos. T. Crawford

To John Backhouse, Esqr.

Under Secretary of State etc. etc. etc.

Foreign Office London.

]Endorsed . . . Received July 18th. Answered. 2.
Inclosures. . . .

¹F. O., Mexico, vol. 110.

Copy to Bd. of Trade Sept. 16/37. Dft. to Con. Parkinson
Augt. 31/37. This is an intelligent Report. 60. P.

CRAWFORD TO O'GORMAN¹

Houston, Texas.

13th May 1837.

Sir,

I left Matamoros on the 5th. Ultimo embarked on board His Majesty's Sloop Racer from Braso de Santiago on the 8th. and sailed from the Anchorage same day at noon.

The wind being favourable Capt. Hope run down the Coast to the Northward as close as prudence would admit our doing. Thus we saw the entrances to Copano, Aransas and Matagorda Bays and the Rio Sñ Bernardo making our passage in sight of the land all the distance and arrived off the Brasos River on the 9th.² in the Evening.

The entrance to Corpus Christi or Copano Bay is in Lat. $27^{\circ} 36'$ N, Latitude $97^{\circ} 28'$ W: Long: and has on its Bar generally but 6 to 7 feet Water. The trade, carried on by vessels of suitable construction, is not of much consequence, and at present is less than it was formerly, because the Inhabitants have been obliged to abandon that part of the Country which lays between the Texian Army and Matamoros. This Bay is shallow and altho' surrounded by the finest lands with several streams emptying themselves into it, each stream has its separate Bar, so that excepting for small Craft or Steamers built on purpose, neither this Bay, nor indeed any of the Bays to the Northward, can ever be of consequence as harbours.

The Coast is very low all the way, and the Soundings lessen gradually till you have 9 or 10 fathoms at about three miles from the Shore, good holding ground, but without any shelter from the Violence of the Northers in Winter, altho' would be safe enough during the Six Months Summer from May till Novr.

The entrance to Aransas is in $27^{\circ} 55'$ N. Lat: and $97^{\circ} 9'$ W. Long: Vessels drawing 8 ft. Water may enter here. The observa-

¹F. O., Mexico, Vol. 110.

²The correct date of arrival at the Brazos River is April 12th; see Crawford to Pakenham, May 26, 1837.

tions as to Trade into Copano Bay, at present apply to this part of the Coast, but in peaceable times will be very considerable for the supply of all the interior to the Westward, as far as *Sñ Anto. de Besar*, and for the transmission of the Crops of Cotton and other produce, Besar and its neighbourhood being represented to me as the province best Cultivated, having also the best Climate and the richest lands.

The Entrance to Matagorda Bay called *Pasa de Cavallo* lays in Lat. $28^{\circ} 18'$ Long: $96^{\circ} 33'$ West,—here Vessels drawing 10 feet may enter at Spring tides. The Bay is large and the places where Vessels discharge are at various distances from the entrance, according to the point in the Interior where the Goods are destined, as several Rivers empty into this Bay and the trade is very considerable, prosperous and increasing, the Bernard and Caney Rivers are very inconsiderable, offering no facilities for Commerce.

At the Mouth of the Brasos in Lat. 29° N. Long. $95^{\circ} 37'$ W. there is good anchorage in 5 fathoms Water, with the entrance bearing West and about three miles off. The Town of Velasco is begun to be built at the north side and Quintana is rising on the south at the Bar of this River—which I ascended on board a Steamer thirty Miles to Brasoria, a small Town on the South or Right Bank, where there is a good deal of business going on and several large and well assorted Stores.—Fifteen miles further up by the River, on the same side is the Village, or as it is here called “Landing” of Marion, distant from which inland and in a Southern direction is Columbia, the late Seat of Government, an inconsiderable place, and almost abandoned, but situated in a fine country with some good plantations in its neighbourhood.

I crossed the Brasos River at Bolivar Ferry about thirty miles above Marion, and the last of Steam boat Navigation in the dry Season. When the Rivers are high large Steamers go up 200 miles from the Mouth of the River, which is skirted with the finest timber of Live Oak and other valuable qualities and dotted with Cotton plantations for the like distance. On the Bernard there is also a good deal of Cultivation and more land is being brought into Cultivation.

The destruction of the Crops all over the country from the Rio del Norte to the Trinity, which empties itself into the N. E.

of Galveston Bay, owing to the whole of that part of Texas having been overrun by the Mexican Army previous to the Battle of Sñ Jacinto, and especially the loss of the Grain last year has occasioned the planters to sow much Corn this Season and less Cotton will be produced than would otherways have been the case. I have been variously informed as to the number of Bales, which has been stated as high as 60,000, but I conceive the present Crop equal to the exportation of 30,000 Bales averaging 450@500 lbs each.

The City of Houston is situated upon Buffalo Bayou, which runs into the Bay of San Jacinto and the latter into Galveston Bay, distant from Galveston Island about 80 miles. Galveston is the best and indeed the only harbour in Texas, for Vessels of any Burden, but has not at its entrance sufficient water for Ships of War of much force unless purposely constructed. There are three Channels between the Shoals leading into the anchorage at the East end of the Island. The depth of Water marked on the accompanying map in English feet may be depended upon, and at Spring tides a foot more. It will be seen by the Map that large Vessels must discharge and load in the Harbour of Galveston, whilst smaller Craft can go up about 15 miles to Red fish Bar from whence their Cargoes are carried away by Steamers and lighters to Houston or other points as may be required.

During my stay of some weeks in this part of Texas there were about 20 arrivals all Americans, mostly from New Orleans and loaded with provisions, merchandise of all sorts, bringing also their full allowance of passengers.

I endeavoured to obtain returns of the Trade corresponding to each port, but as they have had no Duties to collect till this time, so they have had no Collectors nor port Officers to collect information, and I am only enabled to form an estimate of what the trade is at present, by what I have seen and conjecture that it will increase proportionately with the population crowding in. At present about 40 Vessels averaging 100 Tons ea[ch] carry on the whole Commerce monthly which would give an aggregate of 48000 Tons in the year, and they are all under the flag of the United States, with the exception of two or three sailing under the single Star of Texas.

The pilotage at the several ports is on the average about 10/== Sterling for the foot of water which the Vessel draws. The charge by the Steamers and other lighters for unloading and transporting of the Cargoes to the several points of destination beyond the place of discharge, is borne by the Merchandise and is generally done by agreement according to the distance and the nature of the Cargo.

According to the Act passed 20th. Decr. last, Authorising the raising of a Revenue by Import duties, from and after the 1st. June next, the following duties are to be exacted, viz:—Upon all Wines, Spirituous and Malt liquors an ad valorem duty upon Invoice Cost of 45 per Centum, Upon all Silk Goods and all Manufactures of Silk 50 per Cent: Upon Sugar and Coffee 2½ per Cent: Upon Teas 25 per Cent, upon Bread Stuffs, one per Cent: upon Iron and Castings 10 per Cent: upon all coarse Clothing, coarse Shirting, Shoes, Blankets Kersies, Sattinetts and Clothes of a mixture of Cotton and Wool 10 per Ct.: upon all other goods not enumerated 20 per Ct. ad valorem upon the Invoice Cost. And upon all Vessels of 10 Tons and upwards 25 Cents per Ton—each time they enter from a foreign port.

The Appointment of the necessary Revenue Officers will no doubt be made forthwith, but I have some reason to think that a modification of the Tariff will be carried by the present Congress, to the effect of authorizing the President to exempt from duty for one year all articles for Agricultural use, provisions of all kinds, seeds and plants, Saddlery and Harness, Artificers Tools, Lumber and framed houses with the Glass and fastenings they require, etc. The depot of Goods so as to create a transit of Merchandise is also one of the alterations intended to be recommended to the Legislature by the Finance Committee during the present Session of Congress.¹

Should Texas maintain its Independence of Mexico an advantageous Barter trade can be established with other Countries who will supply manufactures and take Cotton and other produce in return. Almost any quantity of the finest and most durable timber for the purposes of Naval architecture can be furnished from

¹Some of these modifications of the tariff were embodied in an act approved June 12, 1837. (Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1313-1319.)

the forests for little more than the expence of felling and taking away.

With respect I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Jos. T. Crawford

To Charles Th: O'Gorman, Esqr.

H. M. Consul General, etc. etc. etc.

Mexico.

[Endorsed] . . . Copy to Bd. of Trade Sept. 16/37. Copy to Adm'y. . . .

CRAWFORD TO PAKENHAM¹

No. 3.

New Orleans.

26th May, 1837.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I arrived here last Evening on my return to Tampico, last from Galveston Bay, I sailed from Matamoros on the 8th. Ultimo and landed at the Mouth of the Brasos River on the 12th., proceeded to Brasoria and Marion and reached Columbia, the seat of the Texas Government² on the 13th., where I was well received by the President General Sam Houston, from whom I experienced very great attention during my residence of one Month in that Country.

I was careful to explain to General Houston that my visit was wholly one of a Consular nature to collect satisfactory information respecting the Commerce of the ports to the Northward of the District of Tampico,³ and I found every disposition on his part

¹F. O., Mexico, vol. 110. Sir Richard Pakenham, British Minister at Mexico, 1835-1843; at Washington, 1844-1847.

²Columbia had been the seat of government since August, 1836, but during the first session of the first congress Houston was selected as the seat of government until 1840. The adjourned session of the first congress would meet there on May 1st. The delay in completing the necessary buildings caused the president and officers of the government to tarry at Columbia until April 13th. They set out within a few days, and Mr. Crawford spent the greater portion of his month's visit at Houston.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

³While in his official intercourse Mr. Crawford may have guarded his remarks very carefully, the *Telegraph and Texas Register* of May 2, 1837, interpreted his mission as follows: "On the morning of the 12th ult.

to assist me in the object of my journey. Under date 13th. Instant from Houston, I addressed a report to His Majesty's Consul General in Mexico upon the subject of the Trade at the ports from Matamoros to the Sabine, to which as it has doubtless been laid before you I beg leave respectfully to refer, and I shall in the present dispatch convey to you for the information of His Majesty's Government such details of the state of Texas as it has been in my power to collect in so short a time.—

I need not recur to the circumstances which have produced the Revolution in that Province, nor the events of the Campaigns, which have failed on the part of Mexico to reduce the Colonists to subjection, nor to repeat the facts already manifest to the World, that they have, set up for themselves, as a Separate, free and independent Nation, based upon an Elective Representation, with an Executive Government, Senate and House of Representatives, unrecognized by Mexico and that the War of Subjugation by the present State is still continued.

Having made these preliminary observations, I shall state the Nature of the Government existing in Texas, composed of a President, Vice President, Principal Secretary of State, Ministers of War and Marine, Minister of Finance and Attorney General.

The Legislature consists of the Senate and House of Representatives.

All Elections are popular, and the powers conferred upon the Government and Congress are those described in the Constitution, of which a Copy will be found in the "Telegraph" of the 2nd. August 1836, as adopted by the Convention on the 17th. March of the same year, which paper I have the honour to transmit herewith.—

The Government consists at present of, General Sam Houston, President, Mirabeau B. Lamar, V. President, Henry Smith, Secretary of the Treasury, Genl. Henderson, Sec. of State, W. S. Fisher, Sec. at War, S. Rhodes Fisher, Sec. of the Navy, P. W. Grayson, Attorney General.

Mr. Crawford arrived at Columbia, accompanied by several of the officers of H. B. M. Brig of War, Racer, Captain Hope. The object of this gentleman's visit to Texas, is we understand to investigate the civil and political condition of the country and report to the British government."—
EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

During the first Session of Congress many salutary laws were enacted, which are in operation, rigidly administered by the Judges and other Authorities in the several districts and Counties appertaining to their Jurisdiction.

I have not been able to obtain the Laws which have been passed in a pamphlet form, as they are not yet so arranged, but I have the honour of transmitting a file of the "Telegraph" Newspaper which contains them all and to which I must beg reference. Much order prevails in the Villages and Towns, if they may be so designated, as well as throughout the Country and the detection of Crime is surely followed by the infliction of the corresponding punishment established by Law upon conviction of the offender by an impartial Jury.—Such is the State of Texas at present as regards its Government and the execution of the Laws and it is internally tranquil, the roads safe for travellers, unless on the Indian Frontier at a distance from Settlements.

The Campaign of 1836, unsettled the whole Country, between the Rio Bravo del Norte and the San Jacinto which falls into the N. West Corner of Galveston Bay. Most of the crops were lost, the Corn all destroyed and the Towns as well as many of the Houses on the plantations were burnt, generally by the Colonists themselves, to leave the Mexican Army without shelter and by the Mexicans also in many instances, but the inhabitants are again upon their lands and the Cultivation goes on, as far as the River La Baca or the Navidad, where the Texian Head quarters has been for some time past.

The Army is composed of about 2000 Men enlisted for 2 Years Service, the effective strength on the 1st May was 1830 Bayonets in Camp.—They are said to be well disciplined and they certainly have borne considerable privations without murmuring, having had to subsist of late wholly upon Beef, their Supplies of Bread, and flour having been captured by the Mexn. Fleet.—Besides this, the regular Army, Texas has several Companies of Rangers on the various Frontiers to check the Indian Tribes.—These last however have but little occupation, as the Policy of General Houston has been conciliatory and he has very lately entered into Treaties with the most influential Chiefs, who were at the Seat of Government on a "Big Talk" and retired well satisfied.

All Volunteers have been disbanded from the Texan Service, and the Militia which could be in the Field on a very short Notice would be very effective, in a Country where there are so many Brakes and so much Timber, where every man is a Marksman and carries his Rifle

Between the present Camp of the Army and Matamoros few of the Settlers have as yet resumed the occupation of their lands, situated between the Armies of the contending parties those poor people dread a repetition of the Scenes of Goliad and the difficulties of their distressed situation is still fresh in the sad recollection of our poor countrymen Colonists at San Patricio, whose case I particularly stated in my letter from Matamoros of the 4th. Ultimo. Many of those are here and in no very comfortable circumstances, but it would be highly imprudent in them to return to their Colonies at present.

Should the Mexicans undertake another Campaign into Texas, they will probably never reach beyond the Colorado. They would be met by the full quota of the Militia and their Army can count upon no resources, but what their Fleet may supply from Seaward, or they can bring with them, as the Cattle will be driven back the Prairies fired and the whole Country left more devastated if possible than it is in that direction at present, whilst every stream, every tree and Cane Brake will be studded with Riflemen, so that, the rapid advance practiced last Campaign could not be repeated and if they hesitate and remain inactive they are lost for want of sustenance and destroyed by the Guerillas of the Colonists.—

The subjugation of Texas by Mexico, can only in my opinion be effected by a systematic operation and the establishment of posts and Depots, giving time for the occupation of such posts and Depots by fresh troops and by slow progress with a strong Army putting down the spirit of Rebellion by degrees, which is only to be done at last by an effectively continued Military occupation of the whole Country.

Such a plan of operation it is impossible for Mexico to undertake or execute, things have gone so far, the population of Texas is too great now, their confidence from past experience so established in themselves and the superiority of the men contending for the Independence they have assumed and for the possession of the Soil they have determined to adopt, is so great, both as to

intelligence and energy, compared with the harrassed and ill paid Mexican Soldiery, that I may be warranted in concluding that Texas has conquered or will ultimately conquer her Independence of Mexico.

Having arrived at this Conclusion I shall now state what the opinion is in that Country as to its Annexation to the United State of North America

At the time of the Election of the President last year the opinion was decidedly in favour of Annexation, and the Minister or Commissioner sent to Washington was instructed to endeavour to bring about that desideratum upon the recognition of their political Independence

Since that time reflection has taught them that their interests are at variance with some portion of the North American Union, and that annexation, would be disadvantageous with a Territory extending 560,000 Square Miles under a benign climate, and a soil capable of producing, as much if not more Cotton than is grown in America and of a rich quality, what could be gained to Texas by exchanging her produce against manufactures, which She requires, if that produce was to pass thro' America and the Manufactures be received thro' the same medium. She would lose the advantage of Competition, and could reap no solid benefit by the adding her Cottons into the growth of the United States.

The opinion then has changed and they are very anxious to have a Separate, free and recognised Independent Government, to trade directly with other Nations, giving the Raw produce for the Manufactures they require, for it must be long ere there are Manufactories in Texas. I am not aware whether other Instructions are sent to the Minister in Washington but I know that annexation to that Government is not wished by the people or the Government of Texas, nor will it now be sought for. By the Constitution Slaves are permitted to be introduced over the frontier of the United States only.—No free Negro is permitted to reside in the Territory, and the introduction of Slaves, Africans or Negroes is forever prohibited and declared to be piracy, except those from the United States.

The number of Slaves as yet is by no means great and in general they are exceedingly well treated.

That notwithstanding the declaration of piracy, Slaves have

been imported directly into Texas I lament to say is but too true, and whilst I make this statement it is due to the Government and especially to the President, that I should declare my conviction of their having tried every means in their power to detect the perpetrators and bring them to Justice.—I have good reason to believe that there is still one or more American Vessels employed in this most detestable traffick, landing the Slaves on the East Side of the Sabine and so evading the Laws of Texas.

It is also true that some Slaves were brought from Cuba and landed in Texas by the Am: Schooners Waterwich and Emperor a some few Months ago a Cargo was run at the Brasos River by a Vessel under Texas Colours

I have had several conversations with Genl. Houston upon this important subject, and I am satisfied of his sincere anxiety to put a stop to the traffick in future. I have been shewn his confidential communications on the subject with the Government of the United States and I am happy to say that Mr. Poinsetts¹ promises to him have been carried into effect, there being at this moment 300 United States troops here destined to the Sabine upon that and other Service.

I would also beg leave to call your attention to the Message delivered at which I had the honour of being present in the House of Representatives on the 4th Instant,² in which General Houston laments the inability of their Navy to put an end to the traffick in Slaves, and calls upon the Government of His Majesty and of America to put it down. The burst of approbation upon the delivery of that part of the Message was irrestrainable and I am confident that in the present sense of the people of Texas, before the introduction of Slaves from the United States becomes much greater, it would not be a matter of very great difficulty to induce the alteration and have that blot expunged from their Constitutional Charter. During the present year, emigration from all the Western Country of the United States owing to the Commercial distress which has of late affected this Country, is expected to be very extensive and all the planters from thence will carry in

¹Joel R. Poinsett was Secretary of War of the United States from March 14, 1837, to March 3, 1841.

²The message was delivered May 5th, and is printed in the *House Journal*, 1 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 9-16.

their Slaves along with them. So that in twelve months from this time, the Slave population of Texas will probably be doubled unless some remedy be applied to prevent it.

Consequent of the change of the opinion of the People and Government as to their annexation to the United States, has been the authorization of the President to send a Commissioner to England in order to open if possible a Communication with His Majesty's Government, and General Houston's wish was to appoint and dispatch the Commissioner forthwith, in all probability Colonel Grayson the present Attorney General will be selected for this appointment¹

The Government Vessels of this incipient Republick, are too small Schooners, they had issued numerous letters of marque at one time, but these have prudently been recalled excepting one, whose Cruize will not be out for two Months, after which it will not be renewed. Their Vessels have not committed any excesses upon the Commerce of any Nation excepting in the Instance of the *Am: Brigantine Pocket*,² and the Cargo being contraband of War destined for the supply of the Mexican Army, the United States have been satisfied that the Texas Government should make good the Value of the Vessel to the Owners, which has been done and the Vessel is moored at a depot in Galveston Bay.

I beg leave to acquaint you, that I made all and every enquiry during my stay in Texas as to the assistance which that Country has received from the United States, and I am quite satisfied that none whatever has been furnished by that Government or connived at in any way. Means have been found to evade the laws and assistance has been furnished by Individuals to a great extent but wherever there was a suspicion attached to such expeditions, there has been a prosecution of the parties by the United States, but generally such prosecutions have failed, because of the diffi-

¹A joint resolution, requesting the president to appoint an agent to the Court of Great Britain, was approved May 15, 1837 (Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1287). A secret joint resolution, authorizing the president to instruct this agent to visit the Court of St. Cloud, was approved June 7, 1837 (*Secret Journals of the Senate*, 315.) J. Pinckney Henderson was commissioned minister to Great Britain June 20, 1837; he arrived at London on October 9th.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

²For an account of the case of the Brig *Pocket*, see THE QUARTERLY, XII, 276-295.

culty of obtaining sufficient evidence owing to the Sympathies of this people of America being roused by the atrocities of the Campaign of 1836, and their Interests also been deeply engaged in the success of the Struggle of their Sons and other relatives the Colonists of Texas.

Great inducements are held out to Settlers the price of land being 50 Cts. or 2/ = Sterling pr. Acre, if purchased from the Government, but large Grants are given to Emigrants, under the Conditions of the 24th Sec. of the Land Office Act passed on the 22d December 1836, to which I beg leave to refer, in the Telegraph No. 49.

Upon the whole, Texas at present offers perfect Security of persons and property, a large field is opening there for the Consumpt[ion] of our Manufactures of every kind. Their Laws and Language are like our own and unless Mexico receives assistance, at this time unforeseen, that Territory will never be subject to her Controul.

Their Bane is the having sanctioned Slavery, a mistake which they would not again fall into, and which even now, were it made a Condition, might be remedied by Treaty with some influential Nation, before the evil has grown greater.

America is deriving all the benefit of their Trade and a transit duty of 3 Cts. per lb. on the Cotton taken in return. It is true that this is draw back upon its exportation to Europe but the advantages of a direct trade are wanting to Texas, of which they are well aware and would make a sacrifice to obtain commercial Inter-course with the rest of the World.

The finances of Texas are in the very worst possible state, a Species of Scrip called Land Scrip, is issued and some of this paper has been negotiated here and elsewhere in America, the amounts of these Bonds are redeemable in Lands.

Bonds under similar Security to the extent of five Millions of Dollars have lately been issued and two Millions have been confided to some Commissioners who are gone to attempt their negotiation in the Middle and Northern Cities of this Republick.—In the meantime all the publick Authorities and Officers support themselves out of their private means, and as their pay tickets are issued dispose of them as they best can. A considerable and immediate Revenue will however arise out of the Import duties which take effect

on the 1st. proximo, and will give means for the more pressing wants of the Government

With great respect. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant.

Jos. T. Crawford.

To Richard Pakenham, Esqr.

His Majesty's Minister Plenipotio. etc. etc. etc.

Mexico.

[Endorsed] . . . Ext. to Bd. of Trade. . . .

HAMILTON TO MACGREGOR¹

Copy.

No. 1.

Barbados.

23d June 1840.

Sir,

During my Stay in Texas, I was afforded frequent opportunities of conversing with a Number of Merchants, among them, some English, and others equally interested in the Trade with Great Britain, also many Cotton Planters, the tenor of their conversation verged to one and the same focus, namely; that they were most anxious to have a Commercial Treaty negotiated between Great Britain and that Country.

I was assured by some of the most influential and enlightened persons there, that a Treaty of the description would meet with the greatest encouragement, and be placed upon the most favourable footing by that Country; Notwithstanding France might by her Treaty,² consider herself entitled to a prior claim as the most favoured Nation.

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 1. Sir Evan John Murray MacGregor, governor of the Windward Islands, in 1840 sent Commander Joseph Hamilton of the British Navy to Texas to reclaim certain negroes reported to have come into Texas as indentured servants, and then to have been made slaves. (Worley, "Diplomatic Relations of England and the Republic of Texas," THE QUARTERLY, IX, 9-10; Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 901-905 and 911-914, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II. The Diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas, edited by Dr. George P. Garrison, is published in two parts; part one appeared as volume two of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1907, part two (in two volumes) appeared as volume two of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1908.

²Concluded at Paris, September 25, 1839, by J. Pinckney Henderson; ratified by Texas, January 13, 1840. (*British and Foreign State Papers*, XXX, 1227-1233.)

The Planters and those Speculating in Cotton are most anxious to ship their produce direct to England rather than send it to the United States of North America where they only receive eight Cents per pound for the finest Staple and equal to any grown in that Country

The advantages of such a Treaty would be reciprocal, moreover it would secure to Great Britain the Trade now carrying on between that Country and the United States and in a very few years, all Commerce between those Countries would dwindle into mere insignificance.

Should such a treaty be considered by Her Majesty's Government unnecessary or impracticable, I trust I am, not assuming too much, in recommending the appointment of a Government Agent to Texas, as an essential requisite for the purpose of protecting the British Commercial Interest now so rapidly increasing.

I have &c.

Jos. Hamilton.

His Excellency.

Sir Evan John Macgregor, Bart.: etc. etc. etc.

SHERIDAN TO GARRAWAY¹

Copy.

No. 3.

Secretary's Office.

July. 12. 1840.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th Instant together with its enclosure, a Copy of a letter from Captain Hamilton to His Excellency the Governor suggesting the propriety of establishing a British Resident in Texas for the purpose of protecting the British Commercial interest in that Country.

With reference to this proposal His Excellency has been pleased to request that I should afford such observations as it may appear to me desirable to submit with the view of enabling Her Majesty's

¹F. O. Texas, vol. 1. Francis C. Sheridan, Colonial Secretary under Governor MacGregor, Windward Islands, stationed at Barbados in 1840.

Joseph Garraway, Acting Private Secretary to Governor MacGregor, and also a Judge of Assistant Court of Appeals in Barbados. (Brit. Sess. Papers, 1840—Commons—vol. 35. Papers relative to the affairs of Barbados, pp. 41, 145, 149.)

Government to become aware of the actual Condition of the Texian, authorities and people and the merits of Captain Hamilton's proposal for the employment of a political Agent in that Country.

Before I speak of Captain Hamilton's proposition. It will be necessary for me, in justice to so important a subject and with the desire of affording all the information in my power according to His Excellency's wishes, to give 1st a brief account of Texas and her resources, 2dly. of the Government and Population, and 3rd of such reasons as naturally occur for the acknowledgment of that Country as a Republic by Great Britain.

Texas contains a superficial territory which may be fairly estimated at 200,000,000 acres, and lying between Lat. 26, 27 to 29½. 34. 35 and 37½ and Long. 93. 30 to 103. 30 West from Greenwich. This I mention because the Admiralty Charts with respect to the Coast are a degree and from 20 to 30 miles in error

The value of land throughout Texas is at present from 50 Cents to 15 and 20 Dollars per Acre.

The Cotton lands of Texas, from all the information, I could collect, will yield 3 times as much Cotton as the Carolinas or Georgia to the Acre twice as much as Albana [Alabama] and from 25 to 40 per Cent, more than the lands of Louisiana or Mississipi.

The value of Merchandize imported from the 30th June 37 to 30th June 1838 was estimated at 2,000,000, and a half Dollars.

The imports [exports] this year may be estimated at 20,000 bales of Cotton being about double the amount Shipped the year proceeding.

The Four principal Sea Ports are, The Sabine, Galveston Matagorda, and Aransas.

In consequence of Sand Bars which Stretch across the Mouths of all the Harbours of Texas there is none which will permit a vessel of any considerable draught to enter, Galveston is the best, and that has but 12 to 13 feet on the Bar.

Texas has a small Navy which is about to be laid up in consequence of inability on the part of the Country to support it.

To the best of my belief Texas may challenge the World to show richer and more productive Soil, than is to be found in her Territory. That, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and on the Banks of the Rivers is unquestionably the best adapted to the growth of the Cane and Cotton Plants.

The latter is, and in my opinion will continue to be the Staple produce of the Country. Experiments in the culture of the Cane have been attempted and with fair success. Maize and Corn grow well in all parts of Texas but the growth of Wheat and Rye has not answered.

It is fair however to state that this has only been attempted within 110 English Miles of the Coast; and it is the general opinion of the Settlers that when the population of Texas shall have advanced into the interior 150 or 200 Miles further the increased elevation and difference of Soil will afford a Region for the growth of Corn inferior to none on that Continent. The Lands very generally within the Coast Region have been selected and located by the early Settlers of Texas, and those who have emigrated to the Country within the last 3 years including the Bounty lands of Soldiers which are at present in progress of location. I believe that a correct Estimate would give 100,000,000 of Acres as the property of Individuals on closing up the existing Claims, and 100,000,000 as National Property of which 20,000,000 is good Cotton Land.

The Government is carried on, as in America, and the Laws of Texas have with a very few slight alterations been copied from those of the United States, but are only nominally in force, for from the disturbed state of Society and the lawless characters of the Inhabitants the Authorities are as yet comparatively powerless.

The population which may be estimated at 150,000¹ Souls are chiefly Americans, a few Germans, and some English and Irish.—These are principally Bankrupts, Swindlers and Felons from the United States occasionally diversified with an Oasis of respectability which only renders the Desert of Villainy around more conspicuous by contrast.

The Amount of Emigration into the Country at this time may be reckoned at 5000 Souls per Month, and indeed so anxious are the Texians that it should be rapid and abundant and so utterly reckless as to the component parts that their Newspapers teem with invitations to the Debtors of America to seek for safety in the New Republic.

¹This, of course, is an excessive estimate. There are no authentic figures available for this date, but as late as 1847 the white population was but a little more than a hundred thousand.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

At present I believe the most notable Vagabonds who settle in Texas are importations from New Orleans, owing to the contiguity of the latter, the deranged state of the Money Market in Louisiana the hourly Bankruptcies and because greater facility is afforded for absconding from thence by the Steam Communication kept up between New Orleans and Galveston with which place alone, any thing like a direct and constant trade is carried on.

Murder and every other Crime is of great frequency in Texas and the perpetrators escape with the greatest impunity.

Many Murders were committed in the Island of Galveston and in the Country during my stay on the Coast, and I could never learn that one offender was brought to justice. It is considered unsafe to walk through the Streets of the principal Towns without being armed.

The Bowie Knife is the weapon most in vogue and it may not be uninteresting here to state that the greater number of these Weapons are manufactured in Sheffield and Birmingham and brought over in British Ships as a profitable Speculation. I have seen one manufactured by "Bunting & Son" of Sheffield, the blade of which was 18 inches long and ornamented in beautiful trace[r]y on the Steel as "The genuine Arkansas Tooth Pick" and I have been offered another for Sale also of English make the vender of which hinted that I ought to pay him a Dollar more than he demanded, as he could assure me it had tasted Blood.

The Monetary Affairs of the Country are in a desperate state. The National Debt is only two Millions of Dollars ¹ but the Notes issued by Government are unavailable out of the Country except at New Orleans and even there, the Texian Dollar Note is at 80 per cent discount.

A great part of the Government liabilities have been bought up at these prices by Speculators in New York, Baltimore etc, in expectation of the loan which Texas is endeavouring to raise, being obtained.

The Sum desired to be raised is 5,000,000 of Dollars to be contracted for under the following terms,² 1,000,000 would be required in 6 or 9 months, the remaining 4 by instalments of 1,000,000 in

¹\$2,164,000, in September, 1838 (Morphis, *History of Texas*, 399); but at the date of this letter, approximately \$5,000,000.

²Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1484-1486.

every 6 months there after 2,000,000, to be redeemed in less than 30 Years but not less than 5 Years with interest not exceeding 10 per Cent per Annum.

With respect to the Government resources the Special Report of the Secretary of the Treasury gives the following Account.

The estimated receipts for the ensuing year (i. e. 1840) as derived from the internal resources of the Country are 1,300,000 Dollars 500,000 of which are derived from direct Taxes and land Dues 400,000, from Customs and the remainder from Sales of Land. Under the present Laws however owing to the great defects in prescribing the manner of Assessing and Collecting the direct Tax, and the inability of this Department to compel the receivers of Public Money to pay them into the Treasury. It is believed that not one fourth of that Sum would be realized to the Government.

He then adds that by certain Sales of land an additional Sum of 283,000 Dollars would be obtained which gives \$1,441,900 as "the estimated internal resources of the Country for the year 1840 it being but 53,939. less than the current expenditure for the same period."

The funds requested for this year by what are termed the Disbursing Bureaus, are as follows

War Department \$784,351-27 Cents out of which 76,186, is required for the year 1839 and 148,632 for the year 38.

The Naval Department 550,787

The President and his Secretary etc. 12,800 out of which the first gets 10,000.

The State Department 80,400.

The Congress in consideration of their Gigantic labours, and the risk they run of being "Bowie" knived during Debate (a custom of by no means rare occurrence) 135,000.

Mr. Speaker appropriating 840 for his share and the Honorable Members 22,800. The Senate 20,950 of which the President and Members content themselves with 18,240 and there is one Striking peculiarity in the Conduct of these Gentlemen, which is, that although they deplore the condition of the ill paid Navy and regret that Government should be in arrears with the Army they take very good care to see that their exertions are strictly and regularly recompensed.

The Estimated expenses of the Civil Department of the Government Amount to 276,520 Dollars, and there is a further demand of 71,000 for Civil and Contingent expenses.

Before quitting this part of the subject, it may be as well to state that the Texian Governments had prior to my leaving the Coast determined to make one last struggle to relieve the Country of its debt of 2 Millions. This was to be effected by a land Tax which was [to] supersede every thing else of the kind ever attempted before.

This Tax, which was to come into operation on the 1st of the present Month, ranges from 50 Cents (the minimum), or upwards, per every hundred Acres, on all lands whether cultivated or not and the value of the Lands were to be determined by Government Surveyors. By the collection of this impost they calculated not only to shake off the national encumbrances and establish the Credit of the Country, but also to put a considerable Sum into the Treasury Coffers; and I do not doubt it in the least, provided they could collect the Tax. But unfortunately the deranged State of Society and the general indisposition to pay anything will militate strongly against the levy, added to which there are vast numbers of men in Texas who have more acres of Land than half pennies, and to give some idea of the wretched poverty of some of these landed proprietors. I have only to state, that many to whom lands have been granted, have been known to hand over half their acres to the person appointed to locate them, in lieu of his (the locators) fees which they were unable to pay in Cash.

Having thus to the best of my ability given a brief outline of the present State of Texas and its Government I will return to Captain Hamilton's Proposal.

If the British Government have finally decided not to acknowledge Texas as an independent Republic,¹ I cannot see of what use a resident in that Country, as proposed by Captain Hamilton, could possibly be or what protection he could afford to British Commercial Interests; But if the Government have it in the remotest contemplation to grant the recognition. It is my humble opinion that

¹Application for recognition made by J. Pinckney Henderson, October 13, 1837; refused by Palmerston, January 27, 1838. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 812 and 839, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

a competent person should be at once sent there to examine the Country, make himself acquainted with the character and habits of the people and report thereon.

And he might in particular to be directed to obtain a thorough knowledge of the history of, and frauderlent dealings in the different descriptions of "Land Titles" and locations with a view to the protection and assistance of British Emigrants on their arrival in Texas and also to obtain as much information with respect to that part of the Country (of which little is known) which is best adapted for the growth of Grain and rearing of Cattle for to that region I think the tide of British Emigration will tend.

Although the Character and I believe it to be a correct one, which I have given of the Texian people is certainly not a very pleasing one, still I do not wish to convey the idea that they are all Outcasts from Society on the contrary there are individual instances of talent, worth and respectability. On the example and exertions of these Men the future prosperity of Texas mainly depends and what is more to the purpose, the Mass tacitly acknowledge this, and do not seek to shackle their efforts by interference.

I will most respectfully advance for consideration, as connected with the present condition of the Texian Republic, a few reasons for believing that a recognition of her Independence by Great Britain would be of ultimate advantage to the Mother Country

One of the greatest objections raised against this Step, in England as I understand is, that Texas being a Slave holding Country, presents an immense field for the traffic in Slaves. But with the greatest deference, I can but think that a prompt recognition of Texas by Great Britain if accompanied by encouragement and protection to Emigration would have a directly contrary effect.

By the Laws of Texas, Slaves may be introduced from the United States but not from the Main. Introducing them from other Countries being considered "piracy" and nominally punishable by Death. I say nominally for although it is death according to Law and a matter of boast on the Score of humanity among the Texians, no sort of steps are taken to discover and punish Offenders, who consequently run their Cargoes with reckless impunity, and in order that no doubt may exist as to the laxity of the authorities with the respect of this Law, there are persons, residents on some parts of the Coast, who are very generally known

to be Slave Agents. The price of Slaves in Texas is enormous owing to the great demand for labour and the high price of Fetches.¹ Slaves have been known to bring 1,500 to 2000 dollars a head there, while at the same time I saw them selling at 3 and 400 Dollars in the Havannah Market.

In consequence of this there is a competition between the Spanish Slave holders and others and those of the United States particularly those of Virginia, Carolinas, Georgia, Kentuchie Missouri and Tenisee, which rivalry will continue until Texas is stocked with sufficient Labourers to work the Lands already in process of cultivation.

The anxiety of the Texians that Great Britain should recognize their Republic is so evident, that I need not dilate on it, further than to state (and that from the very best authority,) that if it were done, they would allow England almost, to make her own terms upon every, even the Slave question, in which case The Home Department might not only insist upon the severest restrictions and penalties being imposed at once on the introduction of Slaves from the Main, but might appoint their own Agent to suprintend and see that these penalties were inflicted

In the mean while Emigration would be increasing gradually, making a proportionate decrease in the price of labour and consequently in the price of Slaves, till at length the Market price for them in Texas would hardly hold out sufficient inducement to the Speculator from the United States and most unquestionably little temptation to the Captain and Crews of Slave Vessels, when they found, that in addition to the deteriorating value they received from their ventures, a strict watch was kept upon their nefarious proceedings, and severe and certain punishment followed on detection.

In addition I will with confidence state that in yielding a recognition Great Britain might make it a "sine quâ non" that Slavery should ultimately be altogether extinguished, and that, at no very distant period. For it must be borne in mind, that with the exception of the Coast Region, the Climate of Texas does not require the Constitution of the "Negro," on the contrary, in some parts the cold is too severe in Winter, to admit of his working without greatly suffering in health. And one White man will in such cases

¹Cost of transporting slaves to Texas (?).

easily do the Work of two Blacks. Again with reference to British Emigration, the Maladies peculiar to the Coast region, will, if what I before advanced prove correct, be encountered by those who are accustomed to them.—Vizt. the American Cotton and Cane Planters, and as I do not think that these Plantations, can be carried on by white Labourers, it will become a matter of consideration whether they could not be worked for the next five Years by the Coloured Population now in Texas under the System of Apprenticeship, as in the West Indies, prior to thorough emancipation; And I think this might the more easily be done now, considering the small number of Slaves in Texas the Sum total not exceeding 20,000.

I need hardly remind you that about 2 years ago, an offer of annexation was made on the part of Texas to the United States.¹ This, the latter thought fit to decline, a step which gave the greatest affront to the young Republic and engendered a feeling of hostility, which though rapidly dying away, has yet sufficient life to render the renewal of such a proposition, and [out?] of the question, particularly as the population of Texas is quadrupled since the offer was made and the successes of the Settlers at the Battles of San Jacinto etc have inflated them with such sentiments of admiration at their own prowess as are only equalled by their profound contempt, for the Mexicans and Indians; in consequence of which they consider themselves competent to stand alone, I mention this because in a few years, They will become almost as indifferent towards Great Britain, as they certainly now are towards America, which contemplating the superior terms to be made with them, is another reason for yielding an early recognition

Premising this is granted (but again I must add, provided it is accompanied by encouragement and protection to Emigrants from home) England would derive in a few years from Texas a full supply of Cotton for her manufactures, equal if not superior to that now obtained from Louisiana, and Mississipi and if some slight and marked preference were given to her produce in England, the Planter and Labourer now working their nearly worn out land in the States would be found cultivating the Virgin Soil of

¹Refused by the United States in August, 1837. Texan independence was recognized by the United States in March, 1837; by France, 1839; by Holland and by Belgium, 1840; and by Great Britain, 1842.

Texas, and I really believe that twenty years would not pass away, before England (if necessary) might exclude every Bale of Cotton made in the States.

I[n] conclusion I will add from Sources on which I can rely, that if England will grant a recognition, her recommendation to the Texians would induce them to pay Mexico from 3 to 5 Millions of Dollars for a recognition of their independence, by that Country and would also assume a portion of the Debt due by Mexico to British Merchants. For these purposes she would agree to issue Bonds, paying interest semi-annually to pledge the National Lands, or any portion of the Revenue derived from Customs as Security for the punctual Payment of such Bonds for the Satisfaction of the Mexican Government and the British Creditor

I have etc.

Francis C. Sheridan
Col. Secy.

Joseph Ganaway, Esqr.

A. P. Sy.

[Endorsed] In letter from the Colonial Office of 7 Sept, 1840.

MAILLARD TO PALMERSTON¹

66 Ernest Street
Albany Street
Regents Park.
15th Sept. 1840.

My Lord,

Immediately on my Arrival at Liverpool from the Republic of Texas I forwarded to the Government Journal an Account of the

¹F. O., Mexico, vol. 142. Nicholas Doran Maillard, an English barrister at law, who came to Texas in 1840 in search of health and resided there six months. After the appearance of Kennedy's *Texas* (see note 1, p. 244), Maillard published a *History of the Republic of Texas* (London, 1842), in which he sought to refute Kennedy, to uphold the cause of Mexico, to prevent the ratification of British treaties with Texas, and to warn his countrymen against emigration to that state. (Baneroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 141.)

Palmerston, British Foreign Secretary in Melbourne's Government until August 30, 1841, when the Tories came into power under Peel, and Aberdeen succeeded Palmerston at the Foreign Office. The great English anti-slave trade movement had waned somewhat between 1835 and 1840, but in the latter year was revived. Maillard's letter evidently seeks to use

latest Movements of the Federalists in Texas, Which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the 17th Ult. Showing the course which the Texain Government has managed to pursue, pending the Struggle between the Centralists and Federalists of Mexico. In addition to which I beg to direct your Lordship's Attention to the traffic in Slaves, which is carried on at this Moment in the Most bare-faced Manner between the Southern States of America and the Republic of Texas.

The Vessels employed in this branch of the American Slave Trade are Steamers of the first Class, of which there are no less than three the Neptune, Colombia, and New York. These Boats make two Voyages a Month from the States to Texas and the Number of Slaves thus transported across the Gulf of Mexico may be estimated at one hundred each Boat per Month. Nothing would be deemed more just My Lord than the Seizure of the Boats thus employed,—Con[s]idering that Mexico the Country which in the eyes of Great Britain still holds the Sovereignty of Texas, Was the first civilized Nation that abolished Slavery, and that, that act was not only seized by the British Government of 1824 as the Medium of renewing our intercourse, which had been suspended for four or five Years, but was also made the ostensible basis on which our future relationship with Mexico was to rest,—And that the Legislature of Texas, (if she may for an instant be deemed an Independent Republic) the Country to which the Slaves are taken, has made the Importation of Slaves by Sea piracy, and lastly the United States, the Country to which the Boats belong, as if to demonstrate to the World Her repugnance to the Slave Trade, In the Month of May last seized six small vessels in the Port of New York on a mere suspicion that they were fitting out for the Slave Trade. The Federalist Standard has been used, and is for the most part supported by the Texain and American Citizens. The Government of United States, have commenced pouring supplies into Texas, in order that She may be able to fulfil her engagements with the Federalists, and if Texas can only get sufficient Slave

this revival of public interest to the disadvantage of Texas. Great Britain had treaties with various European powers granting mutual right of search of vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, but the United States had refused to make such a treaty. The position of Texas in the matter was therefore of importance. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 55.)

labour to develop her resources the Federalists must succeed eventually, when we shall see Slavery revived and perpetuated, and other Institutions still more injurious to our Interests, and repugnant to our National prejudices established throughout Mexico, whose dismemberment at this or any future period must prove most ruinous to British Interests in that quarter.

The recent alterations which have been made, with regard to the Western Boundary of Texas is also worthy of Your Lordship's attention. Up to the Month of May 1840 the Republic of Texas claimed the whole territory West of the Sabine River which divides Texas from the United States to the Rio Grande or Rio del Norte, but at the period above mentioned, the Republic of Texas ceded the Territory lying between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande, to the New Republic of Rio Grande.¹ The Nueces being the Eastern Boundary of the State of Cohahula which separated it from the Province of Texas as laid down by the Council of Department, for the Provinces or States, established under the Federal Constitutional Act of 1824, but should the Federalists fail in their attempt to establish the Independence of the Republic of Rio Grande, Texas will doubtless lay Claim again to the Territory in question.

Should Your Lordship wish any further information on the Subject of the Importation of Slaves to Texas, or any other relative to the present state of that Country, I shall any time feel great pleasure in supplying Your Lordship with such facts as come under My own immediate Notice

I have the Honour to be, Your Lordship's

Very Humble, Obedient Servant

Nichs. Maillard

To The Right Honourable.

Viscount Palmerston. M. P.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs etc. etc. etc.

¹Needless to say, this statement had no foundation in fact. For an account of the Republic of the Rio Grande see Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 326-32.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

HOOK TO PALMERSTON¹*Copy.*

April 30th, 1841.

My Lord,

In the Month of March last year I had the honor of submitting for your Lordship's perusal a short sketch of the Republic of Texas. Since that period, a combination of circumstances, Political, Commercial and Moral have taken place there, which in my humble opinion, justly claims the early attention of Her Majesty's Government.

In soliciting the honor of Your Lordship's consideration of the following Statements, I beg leave most respectfully, to inform you, that I have used much exertion to obtain my information from sources on which I can rely for Correctness, and that in adopting this Method of addressing Your Lordship, I have two grand objects in view, viz:—The *extention of British Commerce* and the Abolition of Slavery.

The political Change which has taken place in Texas since March last cannot be unknown to Your Lordship. Since that period the Govmt of France has officially acknowledged the independence of Texas, and her Ambassador, Genl Henderson, has been received at Court by His Majesty, the King of the French, and M. Soligny,² Minister of France to the Republic of Texas has been received by the President at Austin with marked respect.³ Since March last

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 2. Hook has not been positively identified. A James Hook was appointed in July, 1842, as "Commissioner of Arbitration in the mixed British and Foreign Courts for the Suppression of the Slave Trade," at Sierra Leone, and arrived at that place, from England, on December 3, 1842. Whether or not he was the writer of this letter is uncertain. (British Sessional Papers, 1843—Commons—vol. LVIII. Correspondence on the Slave Trade, Class A, p. 1.)

²Saligny.

³Three treaties had been concluded also by Hamilton, for Texas, and Palmerston, for Great Britain; (a) a treaty of amity and commerce, involving recognition of Texas (November 13, 1840); (b) a treaty providing British mediation between Texas and Mexico (November 14, 1840); (c) a treaty giving mutual right of search of vessels engaged in the African slave-trade (November 16, 1840). The first and second of these treaties were transmitted to Texas on December 3, 1840, but the third was not sent until January 4, 1841, Hamilton writing that the delay was due to his anxiety that the slave-trade treaty should be carried to Texas by a confidential friend, A. T. Burnley, who could explain the necessity. Hamilton was under of signing a treaty he had had no authority to negotiate. British agents suspected Hamilton of delaying the treaty in the hope that

year many thousands of Anglo Americans, British and Germans have with their families and property become settlers in the Republic of Texas. This together with the recognition of her independence three years ago, by the United States has greatly consolidated her power. She now possesses a Civil, Military and Naval Strength more than adequate to secure her self against any attempt which Mexico might make to reconquer her lost Province. Indeed the daily encreasing power of Texas, and the continued revolutions and counter revolutions of Mexico are sufficient proof for my making this assertion.

Before entering on the purport of my letter, *extention of Commerce and the Abolition of the Slave trade and Slavery in Texas*, permit me briefly to call Your Lordship's attention to the happy position of this new Republic as a Commercial Country, and its immense value to Great Britain as such. And the[n] point out a plan by which I firmly believe that Slavery may be forthwith abolished in Texas, which, when accomplished, would prove a powerful engine in the hands of Abolitionists towards extinguishing that moral pest in the United States, an event devoutly to be wished for;—An event which all Europe and Millions in America wish to see accomplished, and which must infallibly take place.

Should I be so fortunate as to succeed in inducing Your Lordship to honor my suggestions by taking effective Measures to exterminate Slavery in Texas, I shall ever rejoice in having been the humble Agent who called Your Lordship's Attention to a Measure which, when attained will prove an endless [blessing?] to the human family; and to Your Lordship, it will add another Claim of gratitude for Your invaluable labours in this holy cause, from every friend of freedom in the British Empire.

Though I am possessed of a minute account, written by an eye witness of the rise, progress, and final achievement of the manner

when Texan approval of the first and second treaties was received, Great Britain would ratify them without waiting for the third. The result was unfortunate. Texan sanction of the first and second treaties was transmitted to Hamilton on February 12, 1841. On February 21, Burnley, writing from Houston, sent the slave-trade treaty to the Texan government too late for approval by congress, which had adjourned. Great Britain insisted on exchanging ratifications of all three treaties at the same time, and thus all were unduly delayed until June 28, 1842. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 919-943, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II; Worley, in *THE QUARTERLY*, IX, 11-16; Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 67-68.)

in which the Texans gained their independence of Mexico, as made known to the World by the proclamation of their delegates dated March 17th¹ 1836, yet as such account, though interesting, is not absolutely necessary for my object, I shall not increase the length of my letter by inserting its details.

The Republic of Texas is of much greater extent than was the Province of Texas while forming part of the late Mexican Confederacy. When Texas declared her independence of Mexico in 1836 she was joined by the State of Tamaulipas which lies North and east of the Rio del Norte, and likewise by all that part of New Mexico which lies east of the same, together with the Province of Santa Fé. The boundary of Texas as at present defined, is as follows. Beginning at the Mouth of the Rio del Norte, about the 26th. degree of North latitude, and up that River to its source thence a due North course to the source of the River Arkansas, the boundary line of the United States, following that River in its various windings to the 100th. degree of longitude from London. Then a line due North [South] to the Red River, following the course of the Red River to a line due North from the junction of the Sabine River with the 33d [32d] parallel of latitude, and about the 94th degree of longitude, then following the course of the Sabine River to its termination in the Gulf of Mexico, taking the Coast Westward, include the various Islands, to the Mouth of the Rio del Norte. Texas, therefore has a mean length of about 700 Miles, a breadth of about 450 Miles and a sea coast of nearly 500 Miles in extent, containing in all about 250,000 Square Miles. These and other corrections together with the Sites etc, are duly set forth in the Map of Texas attached to this letter,² but of course allowances must be made for this early geographical Map of the new Republic of Texas.

It is extremely difficult to give any thing like a correct statistical account of the Republic of Texas. The reports from thence, even from persons just returned, are so much at variance with each other, that but little reliance can be placed on them.

The Independent Republic of Texas is, in extent much larger than France, and is now inhabited by freemen, chiefly Anglo-

¹The independence of Texas was declared March 2, 1836; the constitution was adopted by the convention March 17.

²Not found.

Americans and Britons, who have carried with them the language, the habits and lofty love of liberty, that has always characterised and distinguished their Ancestors, and must infallibly produce important effects on Mexico, as well as the Slave States of the Union. To the latter it will form a barrier against her extending the pestelential system of Negro Slavery. And extensive dealings with Mexico cannot fail to introduce great improvement into that rich and interesting Country.

The population of Texas exclusive of Indians and Slaves is about 220,000, and about 40,000 Indians.¹ As to the number of Slaves, I find it quite impossible to ascertain its correctness, but from what I have learned, I believe that their number is yet under 10,000. A copy of an important Tariff as published by the Government is added at the end of this letter.² Documents containing an account of the Exports and imports of the Republic have not yet reached this Country.

Perhaps there is not in the records of history any instance of a Nation rising so *rapidly* as the Republic of Texas has done. Within three years upwards of 200,000 emigrants have settled in that Country, and Towns and villages have been raised as by magic. The Town of Galveston, three years ago, consisted of only *three* houses; now, 1840, there are more than six hundred houses many of them elegant dwellings, and a population of upwards of 4,000 Souls. Similar occurrences have taken place at Matagorda, Houston, Austin, and other places. The increase of the population in Canada,—Demerara etc. can bear no comparison with this

One of the most striking features of the character of Texas, is the number of her Rivers, which empty themselves into the Gulf of Mexico, and afford the means of extending inland traffic by water. The principal are the Brazos, Colorádo, Trinidad, Guadalupe, Sabine, San Antonio, Rio de las Nuecis and Naches. Some of these afford the means of Navigation for hundreds of Miles into the upper parts of the Country. Already Steam boats are employed on some of those Rivers.

A mere glance at the accompanying Map² will at once show the immense advantage which must accrue to Texas from its fine

¹Concerning this excessive estimate of the population see note, page 220.

²Not found.

rivers and local position. In an inland direction, its Commerce by means of these rivers, may be extended many hundreds of Miles into Mexico, on the one side and the United States on the other. Her means of foreign intercourse from her Shores on the Gulf are excellent. From Galveston to the Mouth of the great river Mississippi, is only two days sail, and from thence we may penetrate by water as far as Canada. In an additional day or two's sail we may reach Vera Cruz, Havanna and other West India Markets. Within thirty days sail from Galveston we may arrive in an English Port, and now that Steam conveyance is about being established, the voyage to Liverpool may be accomplished in sixteen days.

Such is a hasty sketch of the above unequalled Commercial position of Texas, but in this outline I have omitted to notice her means of trade in *furs* with the various Nations of Indians adjoining her territory.

Here it may be necessary briefly to notice the climate, soil and productions of Texas. As to its climate its salubrity is proverbial all over America. The Country has hitherto been exempt from pestelential diseases, and the yellow fever, so common in the West Indies, is here unknown. February is the only winter month, and so very mild is it, that snow is rarely seen, and ice only when the wind blows from the North at that season. The thermometer falls in winter to about 68, and in summer seldom rises higher than 80. In a word the mildness and salubrity of the Climate of Texas has no equal in America.

The newly arrived Anglo American or European Agriculturist and Mechanic are quite capable of pursuing their calling in the same way and to the same extent as they did in their Native Country. In the Northern part of this Republic the climate differs but little from that of the South of Europe.

As to the soil its capabilities are vast.—Perhaps there is no section on the surface of the globe possessing so much fruitful land and so little barrenness. Its virgin soil needs no manure and but little agricultural labour to prepare it for producing all that is valuable either in Europe, Asia or Africa, so very rich and productive is the land in Texas that it will produce two Crops of grain in one year. Good land will raise one bale and a half of Cotton per acre, each weighing from 500 to 600 pounds, and at the present time,

worth about Ninety dollars. It will raise from forty to sixty bush-ells of Indian Corn per Acre.—Its delightful prairies, even in a state of Nature, are perpetual gardens, producing the most delicious fruits,—Flowers the most beautifully variegated and all kinds of garden vegetables, may be obtained in every season of the year.

To enumerate the various productions and capabilities of the "*Garden of the West*" would require the space of a volume, but it would be unpardonable not to point out its *leading productions* and growing commercial worth to Great Britain.

Nature has evidently given to Texas commercial advantages which she has denied to every part of Mexico and other surrounding States. Few Countries, if any, are more favorably situated for carrying on an extensive and lucrative foreign and domestic trade. Its resources are immense.—Bounded on the South and West by the rich mining districts of San Louis Potosi, New Mexico and Santa Fé, it must form the medium of Communication between those parts and the civilized world. This circumstance, and the commercial position of Texas cannot fail to have a considerable influence on the future destiny of the surrounding Nations, while at the same time, its trade in *bullion* will be extensive and profitable.

It is true that Texas is capable of producing almost every thing which we import in a raw state from foreign Countries, but like other Nations, she too, has her *staple articles*. The first, and decidedly, to Great Britain, the most important is her *Cotton*. Her soil, climate and position for producing this most valuable Article has no equal, and though in England more than one Million and a half of people are employed in this trade, Texas can produce more Cotton, and at a cheaper rate than we at present consume. I would here beg leave to observe, that we, in payment for this and other raw Materials, give our manufactured goods of Manchester, Glasgow, Sheffield and Birmingham. I need not stop to point out the great advantage which must arise to our merchants and manufacturers from such a Commerce. The immense value of a growing customer like the Republic of Texas, must be obvious to all. She is, and will be for more than a hundred years to come, destitute of all kinds of manufacturies, whilst her daily encreasing population and wealth will require a supply of almost every thing made

in this Country, for the payment of which, as before stated, she will give us bullion and *raw Materials*.

Among the many valuable productions of Texas, its *timber* may be mentioned. The live oak is one of the largest; it grows to an enormous size, some trees measuring fifteen feet in circumference and maintaining this size, more than thirty feet from the ground. Besides the live oak, there are the White oaks, elm, cedar, cypress etc. For ship building the live oak of Texas is superior to any other on the Continent, and what renders this timber still more valuable for exportation is, that it grows mostly near the rivers, by means of which it can be cheaply floated down to the sea coast for shipping. And as shippers embarking Cotton would be glad to ship Oak as ballast, it could be imported into England at a much less cost than the teak of Sierra Leone or any other place.

In addition to the bullion, cotton and timber, Texas also exports, Hides, Furs, Beeswax, Salted provisions, Flour, grain, horses, cattle, etc.

The Republic of Texas offers a field for almost unbounded enterprise, it[s] wonderful capabilities for productions—Its happy position and enterprising inhabitants prove that it possesses within itself, all the elements of national greatness and prosperity.

The contiguity of the rich, but feebly governed Republic of Mexico and its almost total ignorance of Manufacturies, will of course be taken advantage of by the enterprising Merchants and traders of Texas. It is not only the consumption of British Merchandize in the Markets of Texas to which we ought to look but also through her with Mexico and the adjoining Countries.

The prospects of trade between our own Country and Texas are highly important and are founded on the great reciprocal principle of the latter being able to furnish us with nearly all that we want in the way of produce, cheaply and in return, she will take our manufactured Cottons, Woolens, Silks, Hardwares etc.—A commerce founded on such a basis must become flourishing and tend to cement a valuable connection between the two Countries.

The Texian Government has adopted in her judicial Code, trial by jury, and allows free exercise of all religions. She has authorised the adoption of the English language in all legal proceedings, and it is the general language throughout Texas. In January last

both houses of Congress passed a resolution, establishing the Common law of England as the basis of Texian jurisprudence.

The importation of Slaves by sea into Texas, constitutes the crime of felony, and is punishable by *death*. But, unhappily, she permits Slaves to be brought across the boundary line between her and the United States. And though in one sense this may not increase the number of Slaves in America, yet as the Climate of Texas is infinitely superior to that of the Slave districts of the United States it will tend to prolong the existence of Slavery.

Having thus sketched the commercial position and capabilities of Texas, it needs but little argument to prove that an immense advantage would accrue both to Great Britain and the Republic, by forming a Treaty of Commerce between the two Nations.

The government of the United States ever alert in fostering and extending her commerce, was the first to acknowledge the Independence of Texas, by which Act she secured commercial privileges of great value to her Merchants. In Europe, France was the next to follow the example of the Government of Washington. An important Treaty of Commerce between France and Texas has been effected, and which treaty was duly signed and ratified by the Senate of Texas on January 22nd 1840.¹ This act on the part of France was not done without due enquiry into the Affairs and stability of the Government of Texas, for which purpose a Mission, consisting of two commercial Gentlemen, was sent out by the French Government to collect correct information as to the commercial and political Affairs of Texas.² On the report of this Mission a treaty as above stated was the consequence.

The latter observations naturally bring me to the most important part of my letter, viz—to suggest to Her Majesty's Government, the propriety, I had almost said the necessity of our forming a treaty of commerce with the valuable Commercial Republic of Texas. Indeed, from the immense amount of British property already embarked in the Texian trade a Government protection of our interest appears indispensable.

I have good reasons for stating that the Government of Texas

¹The treaty with France was ratified January 13.

²The writer, perhaps, had in mind the visit of M. Saligny to Texas in 1839. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 1271, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, II, 1908.)

is most desirous of forming a Commercial treaty with Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and that to obtain this it would gladly listen to the most liberal terms, as to commercial intercourse. And also conclude Arrangements for the final abolition of Slavery throughout the Texian Republic. In order to accomplish this great object, I think the present circumstances are peculiarly favorable, and that Her Majesty's Ministers have now an opportunity of inflicting a Mortal wound on the giant slavery existing in the United States, by simply forming a Commercial treaty with the Independent Republic of Texas, but in which treaty the full Abolition of slavery should be made the *Sine quâ Non*.

When Texas first achieved her Independence, her population was small, and in her hour of need and difficulty, her then Government sanctioned the Planters and Slave Owners of the United States, with their Slaves, to settle in the New Republic, but *now* her situation is greatly altered.—Her population has immensely increased, and is daily increasing, not only in numbers but also in physical and moral power. In this respect she has exceeded the expectations of her most sanguine friends

The number of Slaves already in Texas is, as before mentioned, not large, and it is generally believed that her Government would readily entertain any feasible plan by which this blighting section of her laws might be for ever expelled from her judicial Code.—The friends of abolition are numerous and powerful even in that Republic.—The persons in Authority at present are also disposed to get rid of Slavery and would gladly listen to the proposal if accompanied with a treaty of Commerce from Great Britain. Indeed the moral tone and influence already produced by the large numbers of Emigrants from Europe and the Northern States of America already begin to assume an import station [important character?] in favor of freedom.

Many of the Slaves now labouring in Texas are only *hired* out by their owners in the United States to the Texian Planters, who can afford a much higher rate of Wages to labourers than is paid in the Union, with such there could be no difficulty

The very important commercial treaties lately effected by Your Lordship, and your coadjutors afford a most substantial proof of willingness and activity in behalf of the general commerce of our Country, and as the cause which I am humbly advocating, com-

bines both Commercial interest and philanthropy, I am induced to hope that Her Majesty's Ministers will be pleased to undertake this additional great Measure towards the extinction of Slavery in America.—A Measure which could not fail to establish their popularity throughout Great Britain, and call forth the lasting gratitude of every friend of the human race.

By effecting the final abolition of Slavery in Texas, we at once extinguish that horrid traffic in a Country which, *without* our interference, might become one of the most extensive Slave Markets in America. And instead of a Slave State, we should, by our aid, raise up a *Free* and powerful Republic between Mexico and the United States which must ultimately, by example and sympathy, effect a mighty change in the Slave districts across the Sabine River.

Should the proposed plan for extinguishing Slavery in Texas, be followed by a treaty for a similar purpose, with Spain, and Brazil, Slavery would, thereby receive its death blow in the New World, and its nefarious pursuit on the Coast of Africa be rendered fruitless. In a word, this would *effectually close all the great Markets for Slaves*, and do more towards putting an end to the export Slave trade in Africa than any number of Ships which we may send to sea for that purpose. I need say nothing about the immense saving of expence and valuable lives which would result from this plan.

Before closing my observations, permit me to give an extract from an able writer on the present Chinese question which appears to me scarcely less applicable to our connection with Texas than the Celestial Empire

"It is, says he, "practically impossible for any Nation to carry on a quiet lucrative commerce with others, and yet refuse to enter into some species of diplomatic relation with them. The inconvenience of the want of such recognized relations may be indured for a season, but individual violations on one side or the other, are sure at some time or other to bring the *reductio ad absurdum*."

In concluding I would beg to add, that if ever there was a period when the general trade and commerce of Great Britain required the aid of Government in securing New Markets for our Merchandise, it is certainly the present. Our powerful oponents in Europe, and

the United States of America, meet us as rivals in every Market in the Universe.

The Government of France and the United States have gained the start on us in Texas, but I trust that the day is at hand, when our Merchants and Ship Owners shall have their persons and property, in the New Republic, protected by an Agent or Consul of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and if necessary, that She will be pleased to order a Mission, as was done by France last year, to be sent out for the purpose of making an authentic report of the present situation of the Government.—Commerce—Slavery, etc of Texas. The commercial interests of our Country and the sacred cause of philanthropy equally join in the appeal to Her Majesty's Government.

I have the honor to be. My Lord. Your Lordship's
Most Obedient, humble Servant

James Hook.

The Right Honorable.

Lord Viscount Palmerston. M. P. etc. etc. etc.

NEPEAN TO DOUGLAS¹

Copy.

H. M. Sloop "Comus."
Jamaica 24 July. 1841.

Confidential.

Sir.

As far as I can understand the nature of these Despatches, gleaned from Messrs. Welde and Harrison,² the Commissioners, our Government at home, are desirous of bringing about a reconciliation between Mexico and her lost province of Texas, and I have been given to understand that Mr. Pakenham has been ordered

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 2. Evan Nepean, Commander of the *Comus* from May 9, 1839, to March 4, 1842. Peter John Douglas, Commodore on the *Magnificent* from 1838 to November, 1841; and Commander-in-Chief of West Indian Squadron, June 21 to September 30, 1841. (Brit. Scss. Papers, 1852—Lords—vol. 17. Return of Naval Appointments, 1831 to 1851.)

²Not identified.

to act as Mediator between the two parties, but I fear hitherto with little or no success.¹

It is very certain that Mexico has great reason to feel indignant, at the bad faith and total want of honesty on the part of the Texians in the first instance, but as these people are now become a free and independent Republic and recognized as such by the great powers of Europe, it is folly to contend any longer against the state of things which is totally out of the power of Mexico to remedy.

So far the Texians have made a very fair offer, namely, that if Mexico will recognize her as an independent nation she will take upon herself a portion of the debt due to England, to the amount of one Million Sterling to be paid by instalments a most exorbitant sum for a people just emerged out of the forest. But by all accounts the resources are being developed with a most surprising activity, and her population has increased within this five or six years from 4,000 to 300,000,² and is continuing to augment in the same ratio indeed even with the physical strength She now possesses, She may bid defiance to the Mexican Armies. It will therefore be good policy on the part of Mexico to accept the terms proposed, less a more disadvantageous state of things should arise, which might oblige [her] to make a still greater sacrifice for sooner or later Texas will, by force of Arms oblige her to come to terms, and instead of losing one Province, she may find herself sure of [losing] one or two more.

The totally disorganized state of the Government of Mexico is such, that she will in all probability fall to pieces even without any

¹Various overtures for peace had been made. In October, 1838, Palmerston instructed Pakenham to use his good offices toward peace; and, in 1839, the latter sounded the Mexican government but received little encouragement. In the same year, Bee, aided by Pakenham, began overtures to Mexico but with no result; while in December, 1839, Hamilton outlined to Pakenham the terms of the Texan offer, and a little later James Treat was officially commissioned to present these terms to Mexico. Thus Pakenham had been active *before* the treaty of November 14, 1840, providing British mediation was negotiated; but did practically nothing after that date until June, 1841, when he supported unsuccessfully the proposals of Texas made through Judge Webb. (Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*, 27-32. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 340; Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 470, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

²See note, page 220.

external aid; the whole body politic is corrupt, beyond what in Europe would be supposed.

I heard from good authority that Tampico, and the province to which it belongs were on the eve of separating, the crisis will in all probability be hastened since the refusal on the part of Mexico, to receive either by word or deed, the advances made by the Texian Commissioners which I heard at the Havana, had been the case and that all communications had been refused

I expect that on their return, this circumstance will exasperate their Countrymen to the utmost, and unless England can keep them within bounds, they will make Mexico with every man that is capable of carrying a Rifle, taking into consideration their being well stocked with funds, having made a very successful loan in France,¹ and that they have already a large party in the Country in their favour, they will in all probability succeed for the Yucatanians will so combine their movements as to make a simultaneous attack on both extremities at the same moment.

I understand that these latter people have a strong party in their favour at Vera Cruz, as elsewhere along the Coast they have already the nucleus of an Army in the field, and their Cruizers have several times appeared off [f] the Castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa, to reconnoitre while we were lying at Sacrificios.²

To give you some idea of the Gaspillage³ going on even at Vera Cruz, I heard it repeated over and over again that the Battery erected against the Schooner San Bernard⁴ was merely to draw Money out of the Treasury, the Sand Bags cost nearly 7,000 Dollars, and afterwards resold:—the Military and those employed pocketed nearly two thirds of the sum, it is in this manner the public Money is fritted away from one end of the Republic to the other.

General Vittoria, the Governor, has long been in a deplorable state of health, brought on, I understand, by intemperance: he

¹The negotiations for a loan in France were not successful.

²Sacrificios, a small island south of Vera Cruz. "Vessels of war of other nations anchor about three miles below [San Juan de Ulloa], near the island of Sacrificios." (Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico*, 2.)

³That is, wastefulness.

⁴This incident is also referred to by James Webb. (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II, 751, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

was not expected to live when I left. I believe he knew little of what was going on, at the period just mentioned.

With this state of things there appears a most perfect apathy of the Republic at large, or more particularly in the interior; All the bigoted old Spanish prejudices against foreigners appear to be again reviving, and the present rulers have come to the mild decision, that as they have every thing they want in their own Territory, they can do without Foreign Commerce: thus the heavy duties on every Article of Manufacture. Every one appears to be aware of the unfitness of the present Men to govern them, and they are now groaning under a complete Military Despotism

I mention these circumstances, thinking it adviseable for the public Service that one British Man of War at least should be permanently stationed at Vera Cruz. The French have always two, and others, I understand are expected. The Americans have also two, these Squadrons have their rendezvous at Pensacola The Spaniards have one Vessel.

I am etc.

Evan Nepau.

Commander P. T. Douglas.

Commander.

Senior Officer. etc. etc. etc.

Jamaica

[Endorsed] In letter from Admy. of Octr. 21. 1841.

PALMERSTON TO ELLIOT¹

F. O.

Draft to Captain Elliot.

August 4, 1841.

Sir,

I have to acquaint you that The Queen has been graciously pleased to select you to be Her Majesty's Consul General to the

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 3. Sir Charles Elliot (1801-1875), entered the British navy in 1815, and saw active service until 1828, when he virtually retired, being thereafter employed in the service of the foreign or colonial office. In 1834 he went to China as secretary to the trade commissioners, and in 1837 became chief superintendent, thus being the British official in authority at Canton at the time of the Opium War of 1840. The war was checked by a preliminary treaty arranged by Elliot; but the treaty was disavowed by both British and Chinese governments, and the war was revived, while Elliot was superseded. On his return home, he was for a time unemployed, but was subsequently sent to Texas,

Republic of Texas. Your Commission in that Character, under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, will be forthwith prepared, and on your arrival in England, you will be furnished with the Instructions of H. M's Government for your guidance in the Post to which Her Majesty has appointed you

I have at the same time to state to you that Her Majesty has also been graciously pleased to signify Her intention of causing you to be accredited to the Government of Texas in the further Character of Her Chargé d'Affaires, so soon as the Ratification of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation which has been concluded between Her Majesty and the Republic of Texas, shall have been exchanged.

P.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

31 Surrey St. Strand.

October 12th. 1841.

My Lord,

At the interview with which I was honored yesterday, I took leave to suggest the expediency of having an Agent (unaccredited as he must necessarily be) to visit the Capital of Texas, and report to Your Lordship of the progress of Affairs there, and such Matters

where he held the position of British chargé d'affaires until Texas was annexed to the United States. He later was governor of Bermuda, 1846-54; of Trinidad, 1854-56, and of St. Helena, 1863-69. (Stephen and Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 2. William Kennedy, born 1799 and educated in Ireland; early took up journalism and literature as a profession. He came to London in 1830, where acquaintance with The Earl of Durham resulted in Kennedy's accompanying the latter to Canada in 1838. On Durham's retirement, Kennedy traveled during 1839 in the United States and resided some months in Texas gathering material for a book, which was published in London in 1841 under the title *The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* (2 vols.), in which the cause of Texan independence of Mexico was maintained and great prosperity prophesied for the new state. Kennedy's subsequent career in Texas will be clearly brought out in the correspondence. This letter marks the beginning of a special mission he undertook to Texas in 1841. On his return to England in 1842, he acted for a short time as Texan consul in London, but later in that year was sent to Galveston as British consul, holding this position until the end of the Texan Republic. Broken in health he retired on a pension, and from 1849 until his death in 1871 resided in Paris. (Stephen and Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

Aberdeen succeeded Palmerston as British Foreign Secretary, August 30, 1841.

as may have an important bearing on British interests, ere the consummation, of the Treaties with Texas by the Government of this Country.

Those Treaties will certainly be the Subject of debate in Parliament¹

The publication of the Correspondence between Lord Palmerston and General Hamilton on the Slave Trade Treaty, in the Times Newspaper of today,² strengthens my conviction of the expediency of sending a British Agent to Texas.—I cannot doubt that the arrival of that paper in the United States will be followed by instructions to the American Chargé d’Affaires in Texas to oppose the ratification of the Treaty in question.

Now, My Lord; as the Texain Congress will meet in November, it would be necessary, for the efficiency of an Agent, that he should leave England, at the latest, on the 4th of November.

As the Service of an unaccredited Agent at such a Season of the year, in a New Country, would be accompanied by toil and privation, without ostensible reward—and as I ventured to exhibit reasons in favour of the appointment—I beg to state that I shall be happy to undertake the duty Myself—in case Your Lordship should not have a more competent person in View—desiring merely the allowance of my reasonable expences—but relying on my efficient discharge of the delicate trust devolved upon Me as the basis of my future claims to consideration at Your Lordship’s hands.

I am not without hope that My presence as an Englishman possessing some popularity in Texas, would be useful in counteracting French influence—promoting the Ratification of the Slave Trade Treaty, and, perhaps, in opening the way to the mitigation or abolition of domestic Slavery.

I shall be in London on Thursday, to await the favour of Your Lordship’s reply.

I have the Honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship’s Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

¹See note 3, p. 230, for a list of the treaties and a statement of the cause of delay in ratification.

²Also printed in *British and Foreign State Papers*, (1840-1841), XXIX, 617-621.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Private

31 Surrey St. Strand
October 20th. 1841

My Lord,

I have been in London since the evening of Thursday last, for the purpose of awaiting the favor of Your Lordship's reply to my Communication of the 12th Inst. On Saturday next my affairs constrain me to return to the Country.

Before my departure I beg to inform Your Lordship that I have reason to believe that General Houston, who has heretofore appeared as the leading advocate of French interests in Texas, has been elected President of that Republic. The reintroduction of the Franco-Texan Bill,² under his Presidency, may naturally be expected

A new revolution has broken out in Mexico—Military Associations,³ for the purpose of overthrowing British rule and influence in North America, have been formed, from Maine to Missouri—the planters of Cuba are growing impatient of British interference in the Slave Trade—these matters—which necessarily fall under Your Lordship's Cognizance—may, I humbly conceive, be referred to in support of my opinion that the interests of this Country require the early presence of an Agent in Texas.

I believe there are few among the great party leaders in the United States who do not look to the speedy extension of the Federal Union from Hudson's Bay to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of California with the Island of Cuba as an insular appendage.

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

²The Franco-Texan bill provided for the seestablishment of a French company, with authority to introduce 8,000 French colonists who were to settle near forts, at least twenty in number, erected and maintained for twenty years by the company along the northern and western frontier from Red River to the Rio Grande. The company was to receive for its services 3,000,000 acres of land, provided the colonists were introduced and located according to contract. Other concessions to be granted the company related to the working of mines and to trade and commerce. (*Austin City Gazette*, July 21, 1841.) The bill passed the house of representatives of the fifth congress but was defeated in the senate.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

³The reference is to the "Hunters' Lodges" and similar organizations along the northern border of the United States, formed to express sympathy with and give aid to Canadian rebels in the rebellion of 1837-1839.

I beg to enclose to Your Lordship some remarks on the North-Western Boundary question, published in the *Times* Newspaper of the 9th Inst. which I wrote for the purpose of awakening attention to the subject of American encroachment in that quarter, being thoroughly convinced that, unless English influence be employed in raising up a stable independent power on the South-Western and North Western frontiers of the Union, a very few years will suffice to place the whole of the territory they covet under the Sovereignty of the United States. *There* lies the danger to the Maritime and Commercial supremacy of Great Britain.

I Have the Honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

Gregory's Hotel. Arundel St.

Haymarket. Novr. 6th. 1841

My Lord,

When I was last in London, I submitted to Your Lordship's consideration a copy of an Act of incorporation which, in 1840, nearly passed the Congress of Texas—and which aimed at securing to a French Company commercial and territorial advantages pregnant with mischief to British interests both in Mexico and Texas. I remarked, with reference, to this Act, that its reintroduction into the Texain Legislature, during the present year, was contemplated, and that I had strong grounds for believing that its principal advocate, General Houston, would, in the meantime be chosen President of the Republic.

It now appears, My Lord, by Texan Newspapers recently received, that General Houston has been elected President, and by such large Majorities as warrant the inference that his popularity has not been materially affected by his advocacy of the Franco-Texan Company's mischievous bill.

It will be in Your Lordship's recollection that I volunteered my services, in the capacity of an unaccredited Agent, to proceed to

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

Texas, in the beginning of the present Month; for the purpose of Watching events, and exercising whatever influence I might possess for the benefit of my Country—I took leave especially to advert to the subject of domestic Slavery, which the Slave holding people of the South will not even *discuss* except with those in whose fair dealing and friendly intentions they repose full confidence. The trust of the Texans in me, as the disinterested chronicler of their social rise and progress, is admitted to be considerable and, were I in a suitable position to give strength to my opinions, I indulge the hope that I might succeed in effecting some mitigation of the system, as inducing them to assent to its early abandonment. A leading member of the Anti-Slavery Society¹—(a body whose mode of operating upon Foreign States is perhaps more zealous than judicious) admitted, when discussing the matter with me, that any representations I might make were likely to have peculiar weight with the planters of Texas.

It is my thorough Conviction that it is essentially the interest of Texas to link herself closely with England, and, as a natural incident of the connexion, to substitute free for compulsory labour. The arguments I should offer for the relinquishment of domestic Slavery would be based on this Conviction

On my return from Texas in 1839, I had some reason to look forward to such an Appointment in the Republic as would have enabled me to promote directly the general policy of England in that quarter. But Lord Durham who had conveyed to me in a manner the most gratifying to my feelings his approval of my Canadian Services and his desire to advance my public fortunes, stood aloof from the Ministry of the day, and I restricted my application to the Office of Consul at Galveston, as a Situation which, if affording fewer opportunities of active usefulness, promised to be more attainable by a Man whose personal pretensions derived but little support from Parliamentary influence, or family connexion.

From the Considerations which are known to govern Your Lordship in the discharge of your official duties, I am encouraged to believe that these details will not be deemed irrelevant to the application which I have the honor to submit to Your Lordship, and for

¹Meaning the British Society.

the courteous and considerate acknowledgment of which I shall always esteem myself Your debtor.

I have the Honor to be, My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

Gregory's Hotel, Arundel St.
Haymarket. Novr. 9th. 1841.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's Note of Yesterday, and, in accordance with the intimation it conveys, shall do myself the pleasure of waiting upon Your Lordship, at the Foreign Office, on Thursday next, at two o'clock.

I have just been assured that the United States are actively intriguing to effect the Annexation of Texas, and that the newly-elected President, General Houston, (the friend and protégé of General Jackson) is not unfavourable to their object.

I Have the Honor to be, My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN²

Private.

Gregory's Hotel. Arundel St.
Haymarket. Novr. 12th /41.

My Lord,

I leave town today, and shall not return previous to my Voyage, unless Your Lordship should entrust me with despatches for Washington, and require my presence to receive them. In requesting despatches it is under the impression that the travelling expences of the bearer are allowed by the Government.

In order that the safe and speedy transmission of my correspond-

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

²F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

ence be secured, it will be requisite, that I should have a letter to the British Consul at New Orleans, instructing him to aid in forwarding my Communications

May I beg the favour of such a letter addressed to me under cover at 3 King's Road Bedford Row (London) whence it will be transmitted by my Agent Mr. Pringle. I shall be also glad to receive, through the same channel, any special instructions which Your Lordship may be pleased to give, and to learn, after the arrival of the Halifax Steam Ship, whether or not I shall be entrusted with despatches, and on what day I shall be in London to receive them.

I shall be rather pressed for time, in consequence of remaining in London for the purpose of having the interview of yesterday with Your Lordship.

I Have the Honor to be. My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Faithful Servant

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

P. S.

I have taken my passage by the Halifax Steamer of the 19th. Inst.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Private.

Marine Villa, Hornsea,

East Riding of Yorkshire November 13th. 1841.

My Lord,

I beg respectfully to submit to Your Lordship the following points in reference to my contemplated Communication on the Affairs of Texas.

Leaving Liverpool by Steam on the 19th. Inst. I cannot calculate on reaching the Republic, at this season of the Year, in less than five weeks. It is of importance that I should arrive at Austin, the Capital of Texas, before the Congress has closed its Session. To effect this object, I shall travel onward with all possible despatch

So far as present circumstances enable me to form an opinion,

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

I think the best course I can adopt is to draw up a short Report on the political and economic condition of Texas, and transmit it to Your Lordship, through the British Consul at New Orleans. Allowing me a Month or six weeks for local observation, the Report can hardly be placed in Your Lordship's hands before the close of next March, or the beginning of April

In the absence of instructions to the contrary from Your Lordship, I propose to draw up a short Report and forward it to the Foreign Office through the Consul at New Orleans.

My confidential Agent Mr. Wm. Pringle, 3 King's Road, Bedford Row (London) will take care that I receive any Communication addressed under cover to him previous to the day of my departure.

I Have the Honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Marine Villa, Hornsea.

Est. Ridg. of York. Nov. 16th. 1841

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's Communication of the 15th Inst. enclosing a letter to the British Consul at New Orleans.

On the presumption that the letter to Mr. Crawford [can] only refer to the Subject of my request, I shall, probably delay its presentation to that gentleman until I have occasion to require his services

I Have the Honor to be, My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant.

William Kennedy.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 2.

ELLIOT TO ABERDEEN¹

53 Cadogan Place.

My Lord,

Decr. 6. 1841.

I have the honor to acknowledge Lord Palmerston's duplicate Despatch dated August 4, 1841, signifying my appointment as Her Majesty's Consul General to the Republic of Texas.

With my thanks, I beg to express my readiness to proceed to my post when ever it may suit the convenience of Her Majesty's Government that I should do so. But if there be no necessity for my immediate departure I would request Your Lordship to grant me leave to remain in England for one Month from this date.

I have the Honor to remain. My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant.

Charles Elliot.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. K. T. etc. etc. etc.

CANNING TO ELLIOT²

Dft. Capt. Elliot.

F. O. Decr. 14. 1841.

Sir.

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6 inst—expressing your readiness to proceed to Texas as H. M's Consul General whenever it may suit the convenience of Her Majesty's Government that you should do so, but if there be no necessity for your immediate departure you request leave to remain in England for one Month; and I am to state to you in reply, that Lord Aberdeen accedes to your request to remain in London for the time specified

Canning.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN³

Galveston. Texas.

My Lord.

Jany 10th. 1842.

I had the honor to address a Communication to Your Lordship from New York on the 10th Ultmo.⁴ which I left in the hands of

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 3.²F. O., Texas, vol. 3. Charles John Canning, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1841-1846.³F. O., Texas, vol. 3.⁴Letter not found.

Mr. Chas. Edwards¹ (an Englishman occasionally employed as a legal adviser by Mr. Fox)² to be by him forwarded by the Acadia, Halifax Mail Steam Packet

On the 28th of last Month I reached New Orleans, which I left on the 5th Inst. for Galveston, where I arrived on Sunday the 9th. I proceed by Steam today to Houston, about eighty Miles from this place, and from Houston I shall go on direct to Austin, the Capital of the Republic, in the hope of arriving there before Congress breaks up. My course will be through a wild Country, where rivers are to be crossed without the aid of bridges or boats, and Indians to be avoided. The rainy season has set in, and if I can get over thirty Miles a day I shall consider Myself fortunate.

Writing as I do, upon the wing, I can only touch briefly and, generally upon such Matters as have fallen under my observation.

During my short⁴ stay in the United States I had good opportunities of ascertaining the state of Commercial and Monetary affairs. It is deplorable—and if the lately passed Bankrupt Law goes into operation at the specified time (next February) the last remains of an unwholesome System of Credit and overtrading will be swept away. In New Orleans, the banks (which were chiefly created by British Capital) are sustained in a course of virtual insolvency by the apprehensions of the traders and planters, who are anxious to procrastinate the evil day. My own experience supplies a curious illustration of banking management in New Orleans: When I reached that City, the Bank of Louisiana and one or two kindred establishments (capable of paying their Notes, but incapable of repaying the Shareholders) evinced a determination to resume specie payments and to discredit the Notes of such Banks as did not follow their example. Having a letter of credit on the Correspondent of Messers Baring & Co., I received from him a cheque on the Bank of Louisiana for a certain sum, the said Bank having, with its partners, in policy, agreed to defer the resumption of specie payments for some Months, to afford time for the weaker establishments to strengthen themselves or arrange for liquidation. On presenting the cheque at the Bank of Louisiana, I was not only

¹Charles Edwards, an English lawyer in New York City, and for twenty-five years counsel to the British consulate at that place. (Appleton, *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, II, 305.)

²Henry Stephen Fox, British Minister at Washington, D. C.

unable to obtain specie—but the Notes of the Bank itself and was obliged to accept the Notes of the weaker institutions which had been to a material extent discredited by the directors of the Bank on which the Cheque was drawn,—I was obliged to call upon a friend to effect an exchange of the Notes I received for others of a less unstable character.

In furnishing information, at the instance of Mr. Fox, early in the Spring of 1839, I expressed the opinion that the United States was on the Verge of bankruptcy.—The justice of that opinion is manifested by the existing state of the Country which, abounding in the Means of Material prosperity, presents a lamentable appearance of exhaustion and demoralization. Before its energies are recruited and confidence restored, England will, I fear, be yet a greater sufferer than She has been.

The condition of the United States is both favourable and unfavourable for Texas, favourable, inasmuch as distress has induced many of the planters to emigrate to her rich lands and unfavourable as it deprives her of pecuniary aid under the financial embarrassment of her Government. These embarrassments are extreme—in fact, the local currency issued by the Government is, for circulation, useless, and almost unmarketable at any price.

Planters and farmers with some Capital are the only Settlers *at present* suitable to Texas, the population of which, I have reason to believe, has been over rated. This class of persons is succeeding very well, notwithstanding the prostration of public credit. A better class of emigrants has entered Texas during the last year than at any preceeding period. I still consider the successful invasion of the Country by Mexico as *wholly impracticable*—Nor am I disposed—(so far as I have recently observed)—to think that the Texans would seek annexation to the United States unless constrained by financial exigency and inability to defray the cost of Government, which has been greatly augmented by the unsettled state of their relations with Mexico. The President of the United States being a Virginian, and anxious to strengthen the Southern interest in Congress, is understood to be desirous of annexation. It is alleged in the Texan Newspapers that the question will be raised on the proposition to admit the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa as free States into the Union,—the Southern delegation opposing their admission, unless they are allowed, as an equivalent,

to receive Texas into the Confederacy. I see, by an Austin Journal of a late date, that a resolution for empowering President Houston to treat for the Annexation of Texas to the United States has been submitted to the Senate.

I beg to enclose to Your Lordship the Inaugural Message of President Houston, delivered at Austin on the 20th of last Month.¹ It is a vague and uninformative document, and its Author is charged with exaggerating the debt and difficulties of the Country, with a view to depreciate the character of the preceeding administration. The administrative Machinery of the Republic has, however, been worked under the most discouraging circumstances, and to me the marvel is how they have contrived to keep it in operation at all, in a thinly populated territory, unsustained by Capital, harrassed by border inroads and threats of invasion. Whether the continued pressure upon a young and struggling Country has not created, or may not create, a general desire to seek relief in the arms of the neighbouring Confederacy remains to be seen.

HOUSTON. Wednesday, Jany 12th.

I arrived here this Morning from Galveston and start tomorrow Morning on horseback for Austin.

The France-Texan Bill to which I invited Your Lordship's attention in London, has been again brought before Congress in a modified form. The nature of the modifications and the reception given to the Bill I have not yet learned. I believe its [*sic*] will fall to the ground.

The Slave Trade Treaty between Great Britain and Texas remains unratified.² Not, I am informed—from any hostility to its provisions, but in accordance with the wish of General Hamilton to be present at its discussion. General Hamilton who has been expected for some time, has not yet arrived here. It is anticipated that his powers as a Commissioner to negotiate a Loan, will be with drawn. Should Congress be in Session when I reach Austin, I shall inquire whether the Slave Trade Treaty may not be ratified *at once* and the necessary instrument transmitted to England.

¹Correct date, December 13.

²See note 3, p. 230.

The late President Lamar, without the requisite Authority from the Legislature, fitted out an expedition of two hundred and eighty men, for the purpose of diverting the Santa Fé trade, hitherto in the hands of the Mexicans, to Texas. Goods was sent with the expedition, and it was supposed that the people of Santa Fé would give it a friendly reception. The expedition has however been captured by the Mexicans, whether by force or treachery the statements at present made public do not enable me to say. Much excitement on the Subject prevails in New Orleans, where, it is said, funds have been subscribed and associations organized for raising Volunteers against Mexico. In the meantime, this petty achievement seems to have awakened a war spirit among the Mexicans, and it is rumoured that Santa Ana is preparing to attack Texas by land and Sea. There is another report that he is willing to cede it as a Mexican Department to the United States, in liquidation of certain indemnity Claims. Under every aspect of its affairs, the tendency of Texas is towards annexation with the Mexican [American] Union, unless she is sustained by the friendly offices of England. A few years of quiet would render her prosperous and populous supplying to British Emigrants a new field for their industry, and to our Manufacturers a profitable Market for their goods. But she will require for some time a superintending eye and prudent Counsels.

My tour in the Western Settlements will probably occupy me for four or five weeks. Until I return to Galveston I shall be unable to transmit letters to Europe.

Requesting Your Lordship's indulgence for the defects of a hasty Correspondence, and sincerely anxious to forward such information as may advance the interests of my Country.

I have the Honor to be, My Lord.

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹

Austin. Texas. Jany. 28th. 1842.

My Lord,

I arrived at Austin on the 17th of this Month, and fortunately found Congress still in Session, and both the Government and the people well disposed to listen to my representations

In consideration of my work in [on?] Texas, I received a vote of thanks from both Houses of Congress, and was invited to a Seat within the bar of the Senate and Chamber of Representatives.

On inquiring respecting the Slave Trade Treaty, I was informed that, at the Special request of General Hamilton its presentation to the Senate had been delayed until his arrival in Texas, where he has not yet appeared. Apprehending nothing but Mischief from another twelve Month's delay, I urged the immediate ratification of the Treaty upon the President and Senators, and am happy to say that on the 22d Inst. it passed the Senate by *a unanimous vote*²

I have the honor to enclose the copy of a Note from the President, which I beg respectfully to submit for Your Lordship's consideration. It strikingly indicates the financial embarrassments of the Government.

The popular feeling is undoubtedly swaying strongly towards annexation to the United States. And if this feeling is to be allayed, Great Britain must interpose her Mediation with effect for an *early* Settlement of the differences between Mexico and Texas. To a young Country the threat of invasion is hardly less injurious than invasion itself. *Mexico can never reconquer Texas*, and the

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

²While it is true that General Hamilton had requested that the senate's action on the treaty for the suppression of the African slave trade be delayed until his arrival in Texas, the prospect of an adjournment of congress before Hamilton could arrive prompted President Houston to submit the treaty by message dated January 12, 1842. The president made no comment whatever, but referred to "the letters of General Hamilton explanatory of the objects of the Treaty." (*Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 214, 215.) Kennedy arrived at Austin January 17th; Hamilton on January 31st. The treaty was read the first time on January 14, and ratified on the 22d. Kennedy cannot be credited with having influenced the president's action in submitting the treaty to the senate; how much his advocacy during the interval from January 17 to 22 contributed toward the unanimous ratification of the treaty it is impossible to ascertain; that his advocacy was necessary to secure favorable action may well be doubted. But see Houston to Kennedy, below, page 259.—
EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

sooner the present dubious condition of affairs is terminated the better for both

General Hamilton's popularity here is gone ; his powers as a Loan Commissioner have been revoked and he will no longer be authorized to act as a diplomatic agent of the Republic

Although the Government suffers from an exhausted Treasury, the Settlements are extending and prospering, and such are the natural resources of this magnificent Country, that three years of peace and wise administration would suffice to relieve it from all its difficulties.

At the request of General Houston (the President) I have volunteered a communication to Mr. Pakenham at Mexico respecting the Santa Fe prisoners of whom between forty and fifty are, I understand, British Subjects. I have ascertained the names of fourteen (four of whom are Natives of Scotland) and have transmitted them to Mr. Pakenham, whose interposition on behalf of those prisoners who may be Citizens of Texas would be a grateful and opportune act

Congress is to rise on Monday,¹ and I shall proceed immediately after farther West ; then return by the Coast to Galveston and thence to New Orleans, where I shall embark for England which I hope to reach in April.

Having only received recent intimation of the departure of a Government Messenger with Despatches for Galveston, I have been obliged to use all despatch in writing this Communication

I have the Honor to be. My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy

The Right Honble.

The Earl of Aberdeen.

Etc. etc. etc.

¹Monday, January 31, 1842; congress adjourned Saturday, February 5, 1842.

HOUSTON TO KENNEDY¹

Copy.

City of Austin Texas.

28 Jany. 1842.

My Dear Sir.

Before your departure from this place, I must be permitted to make a request of you

Should you find it within your control, you will much oblige me by informing the British Government of the particulars touching the delay, and subsequent ratification of the Treaty on the subject of the "Slave Trade" by this Government

For the consummation of this business, I cannot but feel that the Executive is under many obligations to you for the lights afforded him upon this subject by yourself. Owing to the representations of our agent at London, had you not been here, I am inclined to believe, or rather I am satisfied, that it would not have been ratified at the present session of Congress.

In making this request of you, I claim the right of an apology, on the ground that our agent at London, Gen. Hamilton, has been recalled under a resolution of Congress. And with a perfect knowledge of our situation you will not suppose that an agent, such as would be desirable for us. will be sent to England, owing to the condition of our *finances*.

Should I not have the pleasure of meeting you again, previous to your departure for England, I will anticipate the happiness of again meeting you in Texas; as I sincerely hope Her Majesty's Government may think proper to send you to Texas in some relation which may be agreeable to you, as your return will be to the people, and particularly to your very sincere friend

Sam Houston.

[Endorsed] In Mr. Kennedy's Letter of Jan 28/42

HAMILTON TO ABERDEEN²

(Duplicate)

Galveston Texas. Feby. 20th. 1842

My Lord,

I desire to revoke the recommendation which I made in behalf of Mr. Kennedy, for the Consulate of Her B. M. at Galveston,

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 3. Enclosed in the preceding letter.

²F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

Texas, as I deem that individual as utterly unworthy of Your Lordship's confidence.

I have transmitted Mr. Kennedy a Copy of this letter.

I remain very respectfully

Your Lordship's, Yr. Most Obed. Sert.

J. Hamilton.

The Right Hon. Lord Aberdeen.

Her Majesty's P. Sec. of Foreign Affairs.

HAMILTON TO KENNEDY¹

(Copy)

New Orleans, March 4th. 1842

Sir,

I beg leave to enclose you a letter² I addressed to Lord Aberdeen, which not following the course you pursued towards myself at Austin, I think it both frank and honourable to communicate to yourself.

Gen Johnson will receive any Communication you may have for me. I beg leave to inform you that you will find me on your way through the States to [at?] Charleston until the 1st. July—In this as in all other Cases responsible for my own acts and seeking neither shelter or concealment

I remain Your Most Obed. Sert.

J. Hamilton

Wm. Kennedy, Esq.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN³

New Orleans, March 8th. 1842

My Lord,

I arrived here yesterday from Galveston in Texas, and having just learned that letters are about to be forwarded by the Solway, West India Mail Steamer, I hasten to apprise Your Lordship that I intend proceeding direct for England in a day or two, and on my arrival in London shall be happy to submit to Your Lordship

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

²See preceding letter, Hamilton to Aberdeen, February 20, 1842.

³F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

information which I have obtained during my recent visit to the neighbouring Republic

I have the Honor to be, My Lord

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. etc. etc. etc.

HAMILTON TO ABERDEEN¹

(Private and Confidential).

Per Halifax Steamer.

Charleston, March 25th. 1842

My Dear Lord,

I enclose You duplicates of a dispatch addressed you from New Orleans by the Royal Mail West India Steamer, for fear of the apparent irregularity which seems to attend that mode of conveyance

Mr. Kennedy has behaved with such perfidy and ingratitude towards myself that I am convinced he is totally destitute of all principle.

He reached Texas before me, and finding from the Jealousy of the present President of Texas, Gen. Houston to myself, (lest I should supplant him in influence with the people of Texas) that he would obtain favour by joining in the current of prejudice which thro' the instrumentality of the President was running against me, and strange to say (he an Englishman and I a Slave Holder) one of the grounds of his assault was, that I was confederating with an association at Exeter Hall² to abolish slavery in Texas.

His flattery of President Houston (who to say the best of him, is one of the least respectable persons in Texas) has secured to him a large Empesari or Grant of Land,³ and the understanding that Mr. Kennedy is to write Gen. Houston's Life, has perhaps

¹F. O., Texas, vol. 3.

²A building on the Strand, London, used for religious and charitable assemblies, and long the customary meeting place of the British Anti-Slavery Society.

³William Kennedy, William Pringle, and associates obtained a contract to introduce 600 families. A number of contracts similar to this one were made about this time.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

been equally influential in procuring for him the Consul Generalship to Great Britain.¹

In relation to this last Appointment Your Lordship must allow me to make a remark or two. In the first place the Appointment is unknown to the Laws of Texas, but this of course is not a question for Her Majesty's Govt., if President Houston, thinks proper to be guilty of an act without the authority of Law. But there is one ground upon which I think Her Majesty's Govt. might deny him an Exequatur, and that is, his assertion that by not appointing him to the Consulate at Galveston,² you have been guilty of an implied breach of faith and injustice.—If you think proper to take this ground you are quite at liberty to give me as your authority. He not only said this to me, but to other Gentlemen of respectability.

Lord Palmerston will give you some items of intelligence respecting Kennedy, which will let you not the less understandingly into his character. If you were to refuse to recognise him as Consul Genl. you would gratify a great many of the most influential and respectable of the people of Texas, who have regarded his ingratitude to me and sycophency to Houston with unspeakable disgust.

He will undoubtedly lay claim to having done many things of inestimatable value to Her Majesty's Govt., in Texas. His acts of value were to himself, if they turn out such?—to evil in defeating a measure for the Sale of the Public Lands on Government account³ and getting grants for a French Company⁴ and himself—by which I am sure not a few Air-bubbles will be blown, to take in the unwary.

The Treaties will go over for Exchange by the next Steamer, about which I trust there will be no difficulty.

I shall be in London in July ready to offer to your Govt.—a Contract for Live Oak, in conformity with the advices, I gave

¹Kennedy was nominated Texan consul-general in London and was confirmed by the senate February 3, 1842.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

²Kennedy was tendered the British consulate at Galveston in June, 1842.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

³For the details of this plan, see *Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 221-224.

⁴Henri Castro obtained a contract to introduce 600 colonists on the same date that Kennedy concluded his contract.—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

Your Lordship last Autumn, and about which I shall write Sir Robt. Peel, by this opportunity, with whom I shall be gratified if Your Lordship will confer and lend your co-operation.

You will have seen Santa Anna's Letter¹ to myself—which has since been confirmed by an actual invasion of the Country by Genl. Aristo² at the head of 14,000 Men. I have no doubt Aristo will be crushed before he reaches the Colorado. If he is not I shall claim my privileges of citizenship in Texas, and strike as hard and as heavy as I can

The Star of Empire will travel West, and no Man can tell *where* we shall stop

Nothing can exceed the infatuation of this people, apparently doomed, or the Union and enthusiasm of the People of Texas—In any event be assured we will take care of English interest.

I remain my Dear Lord with sincere respect and esteem your
Most Obt. Servt.

J. Hamilton

The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen

Her B. M. P. S. for Foreign Affairs.

P. S. If the Republic of Texas had passed the Act providing for the international Guarantee of its Loan,³ I should have offered the Commercial privileges to G. Britain or Belgium, which ever Govt. would have accepted them. But President Houston found it, a cheaper policy to recommend repudiation, than to Contract a new Loan

¹Presumably this refers to Hamilton's letter to Santa Anna, offering an indemnity of \$5,000,000 to be paid by Texas in consideration of her recognition of independence by Mexico. Santa Anna's reply declared that an immediate reconquest of Texas was to be undertaken. (*Niles' Register*, LXII. 50.)

²Arista. A force of 500 men under General Vasquez penetrated Texas as far as San Antonio, but after two days retreated quite as precipitately as it had come.

³General Hamilton's reference is to a project of a commercial legislative compact between Belgium and the Republic of Texas. (*Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas*, 222, 223.)—EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY.

KENNEDY TO ABERDEEN¹*Private.*

On board the *Roseins*,
 Liverpool. April 20th. 1842.

My Lord,

I take the earliest Moment of informing Your Lordship of my arrival in the port of Liverpool, by the packet ship *Roseins*, from New York. In a day or two,—after the arrangement of some private affairs—I shall be in London, and wait upon Your Lordship's leisure for an interview.

Since my departure from England, in November last, I have addressed four Communications to Your Lordship, from the following places in succession—New York—Houston (Texas), Austin (Texas) and New Orleans. The letter from Austin announced the Ratification of the Slave Trade Convention by the Senate of Texas, and enclosed the copy of a Note upon the subject, addressed to me by the President, General Houston

In reference to my Communication from New York, I beg to state that *no Belgian Loan Commissioner*, visited Texas during my sojourn there; but Captain Pirson (late Secty of Legation at Constantinople) arrived on a Mission of inquiry into the condition and resources of the Republic, and prosecuted his researches with great assiduity.² I left M. Pirson at Galveston and the bearer of despatches from him to M. van de Weger (Belgian Minister in London) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Brussels.

There is reason to believe that the story of the Belgian "Loan Commissioner" originated with General Hamilton, who may have deemed such a report not unfavourable to his financial operations and his friendly reception in Texas. If this were the calculation, General Hamilton must have been signally disappointed

I intimated to Your Lordship that a formal resolution for the Annexation of Texas to the United States had been submitted to the Texan Senate, during the late Session of Congress. This reso-

¹F. O., Mexico, vol. 158.

²In 1841, Hamilton had asked Belgium to guarantee a Texan loan for \$7,000,000, in return for which Belgian imports to Texas were to be favored by discriminating duties. Pirson was sent to Texas to investigate, and was there regarded and addressed as "Belgian Commissioner." (Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, III, 946, 1528, in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1908, II.)

lution was permitted to drop, at the suggestion of the Secty of State, who correctly stated that all action on the Matter must commence with the Executive;—the Confirmation of whose policy must rest with the people, in a Convention of the whole

I do not think I arrogate too much to myself in saying that the Confidence reposed in me by the Government and people of Texas materially contributed to allay the excitement in favour of immediate annexation to the United States, which prevailed at the period of my arrival in the Country. I obtained, at all events, a suspension of the question until the dispositions of Great Britain could be known. The position of that question is now materially altered by the Mexican invasion. Unacquainted, as I am, with the views of Her Majesty's Government, and the information in their possession, I am reluctant to hazard an opinion as to the probable result of the invasion, but I greatly fear that it will eventually prove as injurious to English interests, as it will be *temporarily* detrimental to Texas, and *permanently* injurious to Mexico. A few Months will determine every thing. Affairs are complicated and the times critical.

I have the Honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Servant

William Kennedy.

The Right Honorable.

The Earl of Aberdeen. etc. etc. etc.